Peter Dale Scott
English Dept.
Univ. of Calif.
Berkeley Calif 94720
(415) 642-2456

1970-71 DRAFT

NOT FOR PUBLICATION

THE DALLAS CONSPIRACY

INTRODUCTION (7)

I. PRELUDE: THE SHRINKING BULLET (9)

II. OSWALD AND INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES (32)

III. PARKER AND THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORPORATION (45)

IV. WALKER AND THE RADICAL RIGHT (30)

V. RUBY AND THE SYNDICATE (27)

VI. HOOVER AND THE DEL CHARRO (36)

VII. WARREN AND THE WARREN COMMISSION (33)

VIII. KENNEDY AND DESTINY (29)

IX. JOHNSON AND THE WAR ECONOMY (32)

X. NIXON AND THE DALLAS REPUBLICANS (21)

361
~~299~~ pages

The following pages contain frequent citations from the Report of the President's Commission on the Assassination of President John F. Kennedy by Warren Report (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), cited as R with page number following; and the Hearings before the President's Commission on the Assassination of John F. Kennedy (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964, cited as in the Warren Report. Thus 4 H 35 designates Hearings, Volume 4, p. 35; CE #1 1603 designates Commission Exhibit 1603.

In addition there are frequent short citations from Sylvia Meagher, Accessories after the Fact (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), cited as Meagher.

THE DALLAS CONSPIRACY

INTRODUCTION

Peter Dale Scott
English Dept.
Univ. of Calif.
Berkeley, Ca.

This book does not purport to identify the killer or killers of President Kennedy in 1963, though it probably could aid in their identification. Other studies have focussed on Dealey Plaza, on the number and direction of the shots, on the movements that day of Lee Harvey Oswald, Jack Ruby, and Patrolman Tippit. About these immediate events this book is silent, for in its perspective the identity of the gunman or gunmen is of secondary importance.

Instead I shall seek to establish the following facts, the second and third of which constitute the central case for a conspiracy, and conclusions:

A. PRELUDE

1. There was a conspiracy to plant physical evidence against Lee Harvey Oswald, and this conspiracy probably antedated the assassination. (See Chapter I, "The Shrinking Bullet")

B. THE CASE FOR CONSPIRACY

2. Whether or not he was an assassin, Oswald was assuredly nothing/other as described by the Warren Commission, with an "inability to enter into meaningful relationships with people" (R23). From as early as 1959, when he hurriedly left the Marines, he was involved in, and is sustained contact with, at least one widespread American intelligence network with overseas connections. (See Chapter II, Lee Harvey Oswald)

3. After the assassination there were repeated conspiratorial efforts to extract from Marina Oswald false evidence against her late husband. Those involved in these efforts included Jack Crichton of Army Reserve Intelligence Service, at least one Russian "interpreter" from Oswald's restricted circle of contacts in the oil industry, and at least four apparently unrelated persons linked to Marina's post-assassination hosts, (the Great Southwest Corporation) and their lawyers (Wynne, Jaffe and Tingle.). Bedford Wynne of this firm, a prominent oil lobbyista in Washington for the Murchisons, was investigated for his role in a Murchison kickback to Bobby Baker (See Chapter III, "Marina" and the Great Southwest Corp.").

C. THE CONTEXT OF CONSPIRACY

4. ~~Despite or because of his "avowed commitment to Marxism and Communism" (R29, emphasis added)~~, Almost all Oswald's political known connections after April 1963 in New Orleans and Dallas were with right-wing anti-Castro Cubans and their contacts, many of whom (possibly including an Army Intelligence officer) were also bitterly hostile to John F. Kennedy. (See Chapter IV, "Walker and the Radical Right")

5. The Warren Commission's statement that "Investigation disclosed no one in either Chicago or Dallas who had any knowledge that Ruby was associated with organized criminal activity" (R 663) is a devastating disclosure about its investigation. Ruby had been continuously associated with well-known syndicate figures and killers from his youth, and he contacted some of them shortly before the assassination (See Chapter V, "Ruby and the Syndicate").

6. Ruby's gambling and crime connections appear to explain his apparent influence with the Dallas police and mysterious links to right-wing Texas oil millionaires, including an anti-Kennedy circle composed of the Murchisons, Syndicate representatives, and J. Edgar Hoover. This circle included members of the Texas oil lobby actively related to the Great Southwest Corp. The FBI's demonstrable efforts to conceal these links underline the significance of Hoover's own relationship to this circle. (See Chapter 6, "Hoover and the Del Cra

7. Others with a like stake in preventing the TFX and Bobby Baker investig included Bedford Wynne of Wynne, Jaffe and Tingle, and Henry Crown of General Dynamics, whose law Albert E. Jenner was assigned the responsibility for investigating the possibility of a conspiracy for the Warren Commission. (See Chapter VII, "Jenner and the Commission.")

8. The assassination had the result of swiftly nullifying certain initial steps taken by the Kennedy brothers towards disengagement in Vietnam and rapprochement in Cuba. Two leading opponents of these more accommodating policies were Richard Nixon and Lyndon Baines Johnson. (See Chapter VIII, "Kennedy").

9. Some of Johnson's Texas supporters, financially allied with the Great Southwest Corp. circle and with Nixon's supporters in California, speculated heavily in stocks which

would suddenly benefit from Johnson's 1964 Vietnam build-up, as early as one month before the assassination. The recent ascendency of this Texas-Southwestern financial alliance, beginning with the Johnson administration, seems to have been sustained if not expanded in the administration of Richard Nixon (See Chapter IX, "Johnson")

9. Though Lyndon Johnson, Nelson Rockefeller, and Barry Goldwater can all be linked to the manipulation of Marina's testimony at the Great Southwest Corp., the politician with the most direct connection is Richard Nixon. Mr. Nixon should disclose the nature of his business in Dallas on November 22, 1963, and whether (as seems probable) he had any dealings with the Great Southwest Corp. directors, its lawyers, or Jack. Crichton. (See Chapter X, "Nixon and the Dallas Republicans"

In the Introduction to my earlier and related book, The War Conspiracy, I noted the limitations on my studies of covert operations which were still largely inaccessible to research; and I wrote of having used a candle where a floodlight was needed. This book, which grew out of a rejected chapter in the earlier one, explores the even more shadowy relationships between intelligence networks, high finance, and organized crime. Even more than before, I feel the frustrations of an explorer who has only one tiny flashlight to explore the immense ceiling of a dark cavern or cathedral.

One can follow individual lines of the web traced on the ceiling, but the full pattern, even in outline, awaits the outcome of a more sustained and powerful inquiry.

For this reason I have tried as far as possible to avoid moral and legal imputations of guilt. For example, I make no claim to know certain of Ruby's Syndicate acquaintances had been named years ago as conspiratorial killers; and at least one of these, telephoned on the eve of the assassination by Ruby's hoodlum contact Robert "Barney" Baker, was apparently never interrogated about this phone call by either the FBI or the Warren Commission. In this case as in so many like it, I have chosen to focus on the recurrent malfunction of the FBI and the Warren Commission, rather than on the individual who was telephoned (CE 2332, 25 H 295). Though I doubt personally that this call was wholly irrelevant, I have no evidence whatever to indicate whether that individual (whom I shall not here name) was a co-conspirator, a decoy, or (as seems perfectly possible) the innocent victim of a frame-up. There are many other individuals who could just as easily have been brought into this book's web of covert and suspect relationships. Their identification should await a more thorough inquiry by a more responsible tribunal. My concern has not been to identify individual conspirators, but to demonstrate that a conspiracy did exist and to explore the general derangement of public affairs which made it possible.

In like spirit the reader should endeavor to suppress the moral and affective connotations which surround words or expressions like "spy", "CIA", "Wall Street", "oil lobbyist", "hoodlum", "narcotics trafficker", "Syndicate". As far as possible these terms (some of which reflect the deficient objectivity of our language) should be restricted strictly to their empirical or sociological denotation. To many this suspension of affect will seem unnatural and even grotesque, but it is necessary if we are ever to understand what happened in Dealey Plaza. In 1963, as we shall see, there were serious divisions between and within "our" intelligence services, "our" financial circles, and "our" Syndicate. These divisions were becoming tantamount to a state of war in which moral terms like "right" and "wrong" can no longer be applied in the usual way. For example, in an earlier draft I wrote of a leading "gangster" who was said to have been involved with the head of "a Dallas Syndicate leader" in an effort to bribe a Government witness against Jimmy Hoffa.[1] It is however extremely likely that that Government witness had in fact perjured himself, and that the purpose of the Syndicate bribe was to secure the withdrawal of the perjured testimony. In such a jungle we must be guided rigorously by the facts alone; the honest individual who follows his moral instincts will be quickly lost.

[1] Cf. Life, September 29, 1967, p. 35.

Finally, just as I have tried to stop short of indicting individuals, I have striven to avoid indictments of abstract generalizations concerning our society. The burden of this book is that there was a Dallas conspiracy, that this conspiracy is demonstrable from the very procedures which it used to cover its traces, and that it is a matter of urgent public concern to expose it through an objective inquiry. Certain obvious questions should be directed to those who were involved, either innocently or consciously, with the conspiracy or conspiracies of murder and concealment in Dallas. Difficult as this may be to achieve, one of those who should be made to testify under oath, without raising prior implications that he is in any way guilty, is Richard Nixon, the present President of the United States.

PREVIEW: THE SHRINKING BULLET

Thesis I: There was a conspiracy to plant physical evidence against Lee Harvey Oswald, and this conspiracy probably antedated the assassination

The Warren Commission (among its other findings) never established how it was possible for a neo-Nazi newspaper in Munich (which phoned General Walker at a Shreveport hotel on November 23, 1963, the day after the assassination) to learn that Oswald was the man who had shot at Walker on April 10 (10 H 426). The newspaper, the Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung, published this information in its issue of November 29; yet, as the Report itself makes clear (R662) "the FBI had no knowledge that Oswald was responsible for the attack until Marina Oswald revealed the information on December 3". When General Walker was unable to explain this access to Marina's secret, Commission attorney Wesley Liebeler, Jr., himself attempted to explain the paradox, by suggesting that the newspaper had been "postdated"; or (in an even clumsier effort to correct this absurdity) "predated" (11 H 427).

In fact the Soldaten-Zeitung, as the Commission established, was "actually printed on November 25 or 26"; it also contained the much weirder allegation that the Dallas police had arrested Oswald and Ruby together after the Walker attack, and then released the two at the request of the Justice Department and Robert Kennedy (R662).[1] The Commission claimed that the latter allegation "was fabricated by an editor of the newspaper"; but made no effort to explain how an editor in Munich was privy to information about Oswald's role supposedly known only to Marina Oswald.

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[1] This story was given much wider circulation in America by Prof. Revilo Oliver, a member of the John Birch Society's National Council and later of Barry Goldwater's Academic Advisory Committee (American Opinion, February 1964, p. 13; 20 H 720).

Before December 3 there was one publicly identified piece of physical evidence in the Walker shooting — a bullet recovered at the time from the Walker residence. Dallas police and the U.S. press (including Newsweek and the New York Times) had promptly identified the bullet as a 30.06 -- an identification made so easily it was in the Dallas Morning News only a few hours after the assassination attempt.[1] Right after the Kennedy assassination, both the district attorney and the Dallas policemen who found a rifle in the Texas Book Depository Building described it as a 7.65 Mauser -- i.e. a NATO issue calibrated to take 30.06 ammunition (7.65 mm. equals .3005 of an inch.) Later both the Dallas police and the Warren Commission systematically denigrated this testimony, since their final story was that the rifle in question was the 6.5 mm Mannlicher-Carcano sold to "A. Hidell", an alias of Oswald's.[2] The Walker story in

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[1] Dallas Morning News, Apr. 11, 1963, p. 1; NYT, Apr. 12, 1963, p. 12; Newsweek, Apr. 22, 1963.

[2] Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry, egged on by the Commission, may have perjured himself to make this point: "All of your records show affirmatively it was the Italian rifle?' Mr. Curry 'Yes Sir. That is correct.'" (4 H 131). In fact Deputy Constable Weitzman, who found the gun, had signed a police affidavit the next day (CE 2003, 24 H 228) which testified, under oath, that "This rifle was a 7.65 Mauser bolt action equipped with a 4/18 scope". This is strangely precise language for a man who, according to the Warren Report, "had little more than a glimpse" of the gun (R645-46).

It would be interesting to know whether Curry himself (like District Attorney Wade) once called the gun a Mauser. Though the Warren Commission went out of its way to suggest (erroneously) a prompt identification of the Mannlicher-Carcano (R645-46), it appears to have suppressed part of a TV interview with Curry on November 23 (CE 2143, NBC-TV Reel 43, 24 H 75): "Q. 'What is the name of the rifle that was found in the sixth floor of the Depository Building?' CURRY. 'That was —'" /bottom of page; end of Commission Exhibit/

Deputy Sheriff Boone, who found the gun with Weitzman, also stated in an affidavit that it "appeared to be a 7.65 mm Mauser" (Decker Exh. 5323; 19 H 507-09). In his testimony he alleged this to be the conclusion of Captain Fritz, who picked the gun up (3 H 295); but Fritz denied this (4 H 206). Lieutenant Day, who carried the gun outside, testified that nonmen asked if it was a .30-06 or a Mauser (4 H 263).

the Munich paper is thus compatible with, and probably based on, the short-lived story of the 7.65 mm. Mauser.[1]

The Warren Report still maintains that Oswald possessed only one rifle, a 6.5 mm Mannlicher-Carcano which he used against both Walker and Kennedy (R187). What then of the Walker bullet (CE 573, 17 H 258), which the Dallas police had easily identified as "30.06" (7.65 mm) in April? It was now so "badly mutilated" that the Dallas City-County Investigation Laboratory could not determine "the type of weapon which fired the bullet" (R186 citing CE 1953).[2] The FBI, using more sophisticated techniques, determined that the bullet supplied it by the Dallas police "was a 6.5-millimeter bullet" (instead of a 7.65 mm.); and microscopic tests revealed further that the general rifling characteristics of the Mannlicher-Carcano "are of the same type as those found on the bullet." (R186 citing 3 H 439). Whereas the bullet once was identified by the initials of Patrolman B. Norvell who found it (CE 1953, 23 H 758) it now carried the last name of the Lieut. J.C. Day (4 H 273), the same man who removed the alleged rifle of Oswald from the Texas Book Depository. Commission Exhibit 573, the "shrinking bullet", is physical evidence suggesting a conspiracy to suppress the true facts about the assassination,

[1]It is certain that Walker's men at one time suspected his former chauffeur, William Duff, of the shooting. As part of their investigation they surreptitiously retrieved three 30 caliber cartridges from Duff's residence (CE 1997).

[2]CE 1953, an FBI report of June 10, 1964, (23 H 757-72) did not question Detective Ira Van Cleave, said to have been the one who originally identified the 30.06 bullet. (Dallas Morning News, Apr. 11, 1963, Meagher, p. 228). The other policemen now called the bullet "mutilated" and said nothing about its earlier identification.

and General Walker (who was not asked to identify the bullet) should have been questioned closely both about it and his Munich interview. Another who should have been questioned is Lieutenant Day, who once had the Mannlicher-Carcano in his lone possession, and who supplied the alleged Walker bullet to the FBI.[1]

The Munich newspaper with which Walker communicated on November 23 was linked to the world movement for a second Anti-Komintern, and also to the American right. In Febuary 1957, for example, the paper (then called the Deutsche Soldaten-Zeitung, with several ex-Nazis and SS men on its staff) had collaborated in a complex political intrigue with Fritz Cramer's "People's League for Peace and Freedom", the German constituent element in CLAS of which Cramer was also president.[2] Its editor, Gerhard Frey, is a close political friend of the proto-Nazi "Witiko League" (a Sudeten revanchiste group) which in turn maintains "close relations" with the AEI and with the BHE refugee party of APACL delegate Dr. Theodor Oberlaender.[3] Frey's paper publishes a refugee paper, Der Sudetendeutsche, for the Witiko League.[4] In 1958 Walter Becher, the Witiko League Chairman and Bavarian chief of the BHE, made a triumphant tour of U.S. right-wing circles; his views were published by such well-known American rightists as Dallas FBI

[1]The Walker bullet had twice been consigned to Lieut. Day: On April 25, 1963, when he took it to the Investigation Lab at Parkland Hospital (!) for identification (by which time it was already too "battered" to be identified) and on Dec. 2, 1963, when he took it from the same lab to the FBI. Lieut. Day might be asked why he waited fifteen days after the Walker incident before checking out the only piece of physical evidence (CE 1953, 23 H 758).

[2]For the details see Kurt P. Tauber, Beyond Eagle and Swastika, (Middletown, Conn.:Wesleyan. 1967) I, 839; II, 1327-28.

[3]Tauber, I, 629, 927-32;APACL, Twelfth Conference, Proceedings, p.356.

[4]Tauber, II, 1368.

veteran Dan Smoot, army intelligence veteran Charles Willoughby (MacArthur's former intelligence chief) and the American Mercury whose subsequent military editor (in 1963) was General Edwin Walker.[1] Walker himself, in his interview with the Soldaten-Zeitung, sent special greetings to his German friend Dr. Frey.

[1] American Mercury, October 1958, p. 139; May 1959, p.

The appearance in Munich on November 29 of the news that Oswald had shot at Walker was followed swiftly by revelations in Dallas. On November 30 the FBI requested the Walker bullet from the Dallas police; and on Monday, December 2, Lieut. Day collected it from the Parkland Hospital lab and handed it over to the FBI. On that same Monday Ruth Paine (with whom Marina had been living) turned over to the police an undated and unsigned note in Russian which she had found in a book (CE 1, 16 H 1); the Commission gave this as their first evidence that Oswald shot at Walker, since they concluded that the note had been written by Oswald in April and contained instructions to Marina "if I am alive and taken prisoner" (R183-85). It would appear that the Dallas police may have known of the existence of this note one week earlier, on November 23. On that day they came out to Ruth Paine's house in Irving, looking (in their words) "for something specific" (3 H 85) and went "leafing through books to see if anything fell out" (3 H 87).[1]

The Dallas policemen who came out to Irving on November 23 did not find this note. However two of the four policemen later recalled finding photographs that were no less incriminating, since they depicted the rear of the Walker house from about the point where the April shot was fired (CE 2-5, 16 H 3-7). The most interesting of these was Commission Exhibit 5 (16 H 7), which had been mutilated to obliterate the license plate of a car parked in the Walker back yard. The Commission as reproduced by the Commission has

[1] Meagher, Accessories After the Fact, p. 285. Detective Stovall later testified under oath that he could not recall any specific instructions as to what to look for (7 H 193-94).

learned later that the car was that of Charles Klihr, one of Walker's right-wing associates (5 H 437). Thus, if the Dallas policemen were honest in their testimony that they found the photograph already mutilated among Oswald's effects, the Marxist Oswald had for some reason taken steps to preserve the anonymity of Walker's right-wing associate.

There are however grounds to suspect that, despite their testimony, those who mutilated the photograph were either the Dallas policemen or government agents. According to an FBI Report of May 22, 1964, another Dallas policeman identified the car owner as "CHARLES F. KILHR" (instead of Klihr); the same report added solemnly that the Dallas FBI Files "are negative concerning the name CHARLES F. KILHR" (CE 1351, 22 H 586). We shall see later that confidential FBI reports are consistently prone to misspelling when referring to relevent right-wing figures -- and also to top men in the Mafia. Marina Oswald testified that she was "positive... there was no hole" in the photograph "when the Commission showed me the picture" (11 H 195).

Moreover the two Dallas policemen who "remembered" finding the photograph, Detectives Richard S. Stovall and Guy F. Rose, gave contradictory testimony as to the date of this discovery. In May they separately told the FBI that the date was November 23 (22 H 583; cf. 7 H 194, 231). But an FBI inventory of Oswald's effects received from Stovall and Rose on November 26 shows clearly that the photograph (Item #369 "1 photo house and car") was attributed to their first visit to Irving on November 22 (CE 2003, 24 H 340). The FBI inventory suggests that by November 26 the importance of the photograph was already recognized, since of many photographs it is the only one listed separately.

"4 Photographs and a tourist pamphlet 'Visit the USSR'	#366
6 Photos	#367
12 Photos	#368
1 Photo house and car	#369
12 Photos (apparently Russia-mountainous)	#370

The list is however difficult to reconcile with Stovall's own exhaustive inventory for November 22, which lists (besides such trivia as "2 name tags black plastic Michael Paine") only the following photographs:

> 1 Gray metal file box 12" x 6" youth pictures and literature
> 9 Pictures of Russia
> 1 Picture of Oswald and wife (Stovall Exh. A, 21 H 596-97, = 24 H 348)

The only alternative is that eventually settled on by Stovall and Rose, that the Walker photos were among those inventoried from the search of the next day (November 23), in a much more accommodating fashion:

> Miscellaneous photographs and maps
> Yellow envelope containing miscellaneous pictures and letters
> 1 candy box containing pictures, correspondence, and letters
> (Stovall Exh. B, 21 H 598, = 24 H 348)

But this strangely off-hand catalogue is itself difficult to reconcile with a separate report submitted by Rose and Stovall about the November 23 investigation:

> We...found numerous items of interest, among them found by Dets. Rose [sic] was two snapshots and negatives showing Oswald holding the rifle (murder weapon) and wearing a pistol in a holster on his right hip (Tippit murder weapon), also other papers of a Communist nature.... Also found by Det. Stovall was a cut out portion of a magazine advertisement from Kline Department Store in Chicago, showing an advertisement of the murder weapon (Stovall Exh. D, 21 H 603).

The Warren Commission was strikingly ambivalent about the incriminating evidence accumulated by Stovall and Rose. It accepts the Walker photos (R185-86) and the highly dubious rifle photos (R125-28). It also accepts the forged draft card for "Alek J. Hidell" with Oswald's photograph, which was "found" by Stovall and Rose in Oswald's bill-

fold, after Oswald was brought into the Homicide Bureau (H181, 7 H 187). Indeed, if it had not accepted these controversial items, there would have been little or no argument for asserting that Oswald had ever had anything to do with "Hidell"'s rifle, the Mannlicher-Carcano.

But the Commission never said or asked anything about the cut out ad from "Klein Department Store", presumably the other half of the form on which "A. Hidell" ordered a Carcano to be delivered from Klein's sporting goods to Oswald's postal box address (R119).

This silence is not only inexplicable, it is culpable. The cut out remnant, if produced, would have been a far more convincing link between Oswald and the alleged murder weapon than anything else brought forward. It was thus, if true, a discovery of major importance; and its prompt disappearance before November 26 (when it does not appear in the FBI inventory, 22 H 332-37) called for careful explanation. Instead the Warren Report skirted the entire issue, and reported only that Klein's Sporting Goods in Chicago had been located through clever FBI detective work in New York City (R118).[a] There was much about which Stovall and Rose should have been questioned closely. Yet there were only peremptory interviews with an assistant counsel of the Commission; the Commission, as such, never received testimony from either suspect.

[1] The billfold was not in Oswald's possession when Stovall and Rose found the incriminating Hidell card -- it (7 H 229).

[a] In fact the Dallas police were given the name of Klein's, not only by Stovall, but also by an anonymous telephone call (24 H 327-28).

II

OSWALD

DRAFT (2)

II-1

Thesis II: Whether or not he was an assassin, Oswald was assuredly not a loner as described by the Warren Commission. From as early as 1959, when he hurriedly left the Marines, he was involved in, and in repeated contact with, at least one widespread American intelligence network with overseas connections.

The Warren Report presents most intelligent Americans with an unresolved dilemma. To read and believe it requires a prodigious and perhaps impossible act of faith; yet systematic disbelief also requires a prodigious effort. The only alternative to the "lone assassin" hypothesis is a conspiratorial one: a conspiracy which would seem to embrace not only individuals in the Dallas police department but the majority of Oswald's contacts both in Dallas and in New Orleans. Such a far-flung network, it further develops, would include not only many admitted right-wingers but the apparently liberal Ruth Paine of the Dallas ACLU, and above all Oswald's own brother Robert and his wife Marina whom he met and married in the Soviet Union. Finally one must also suppose the existence of a conspiracy to misrepresent the assassination after it occurred -- and this second conspiracy, though not necessarily criminal like the first one -- would have to involve many of the nation's competing intelligence agencies as well as the Warren Commission itself.

That the Commission, knowingly or not, published false information from government sources can be demonstrated from its own records. In saying this, one must also say in defense of the Commission that it worked to an impossibly tight schedule and that it did not have its own investigators. Rightly or wrongly the Commission felt that its

mission was (in Commissioner McCloy's words) to "lay the dust", to restore the public's shaken confidence in the legitimacy of government before the oncoming November election. No capital federal offense had been committed (to conspire against the President was a federal crime, but not to shoot him); and in the days after the triple shootings right-wing sources in the south were beginning to bring forth "evidence" that Oswald and Ruby were both part of a massive Communist conspiracy, involving not only Cuba and the Soviet Union, but intelligence personnel and highly-placed liberals inside Washington itself.

What Walker told the Munich newspaper on November 23 would, if corroborated, have been part of this story. I shall show later that there already existed additional "evidence" of such a conspiracy from both American and German sources — "evidence" which, even if it does not establish a left-wing conspiracy, points to far-reaching right-wing collusion in order to suggest one. It was in this alarming context that President Johnson, without clear authority to do so, created the Warren Commission as a fact-finding body on November 29, thus pre-empting the Texas Attorney General's announced plan for a Court of Inquiry. Whatever their shortcomings, the FBI and the Warren Commission between them meticulously demolished the prima facie case that Oswald and Ruby were agents of Castro and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Our criticisms of the Commission's performance should not lose sight of this achievement, which not only explains, but mitigates, their use of misinformation to achieve this end.

As an alternative to the theory that Oswald was an organizer for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the Report presented the alternative "that Oswald acted alone" (R22), that he was a discontented "loner" not "able to establish meaningful relationships with other people" (R423). From the outset Mrs. Marguerite Oswald insisted on a third alternative, that Oswald was "an agent of the government" working for a U.S. intelligence agency (1 H 142, 191-200). The Commission rejected her claim after Hoover and McCone swore that he was not connected with either the FBI or CIA (R327). It was however illogical for the Report to conclude from such testimony that "there was absolutely no type of informant or undercover relationship between an agency of the U.S. Government and Lee Harvey Oswald at any time." (R327). There are, of course, other U.S. agencies, and other U.S. intelligence agencies, besides the FBI and CIA. As a Marine, Oswald would have been much more likely to be recruited into the Office of Naval Intelligence, the Naval Security Group, or what is now the Defense Intelligence Agency — agencies which were not asked to furnish affidavits or testify. Another possibility, not to be excluded, was that Oswald had been recruited into one of the many private intelligence networks, supported by US investment and overseas firms, which sometimes work on contract with the US government agencies.

Mrs. Oswald's somewhat incoherent evidence for Lee's covert service ranged from the State Department's intervening with the International Rescue Committee on her son's behalf (1 H 194)[1] to her son's unusual Marine service ("Lee went to many, many a school, gentlemen") not only in Japan, but in the Philippines and "in Formosa" (1 H 233).

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[1] On this point Mrs. Oswald is correct (CE 2680, 26 H 37, cf. 18 H 271). The Report says only (R770) that "Between Febuary 6, 1962, and May 1, 1962, Oswald attempted to secure a loan ... from the International Rescue Committee" (CE 2680), whose President William van der Heuvel was also (CE 2680) a Special Assistant of Attorney General Robert Kennedy and later a member of the Citizens' Committee for a Free Cuba. An IRC letter to the Warren Commission's Counsel (CE 2766, 26 H 150) proves the Report wrong as to the dates: it also observes that it was "most puzzling...that the letter from Oswald, dated January 23, could have reached the United States by January 14, and that it traveled via the Texas," [illegible]

The Report, without specifically refuting this last claim, published an exhaustive itinerary of Oswald's Far Eastern tour of Marine Service; this allowed Oswald a day or so in Taiwan, at the town of "Ping Tung, North Taiwan" on September 30, 1958 (R684. Ping-Tung is in fact in South Taiwan). As corroboration it cited a secondary source, a Defense Department memorandum (CE 1961, 23 H 797) prepared for the Commission's benefit. Some primary sources (confidential telegrams at the time of Oswald's supposed defection to Russia) are also included, but these have been censored, specifically with respect to Oswald's Marine Service.[1] One of these, though partially censored, reveals that Oswald "served with Marine Air Control Squadrons in Japan and Taiwan" (CE 918, 18 H 116); these words are repeated in another document summarizing ONI intelligence files on Oswald (CE 2751, 26 H 130; cf. CE 1079, 22 H 21). Thus on a significant detail of Oswald's service the primary documents corroborate Marguerite Oswald's testimony; more important, they refute the Warren Report[2] and the Defense Department memorandum (CE 1961) on which it relied.[2] They also

[1] One such cable, dated November 3, 1959, refers to Oswald as a "former Marine and ..."(about six words deleted), though his active Marine service had ended less than two months earlier and he was still in the Marine Corps Reserve (CE 917, 18 H 115.)

[2] The DOD memo (CE 1961), if read closely, will be seen to describe the movements only of "Units to which OSWALD was assigned"- rather than Oswald's movements as the Report assumes and implies. Though Heindel went on to say he was "unable to remember Oswald's being" in Taiwan with the unit, his testimony establishes that the truth about Oswald's Asian movements was systematically falsified. The Commission asked Oswald's half-brother John Pic, whether Oswald said anything "about ever having been in Formosa." (11H 58). Not surprisingly, the answer was "No." Pic saw Oswald once in 1962, for the first time in nearly ten years.

suggest that Oswald himself dissembled repeatedly when he concealed this information from the Russians (18 H 427) and in his official applications to the U.S. government (cf. CE 1082; 26 H 41)

The Report's suppression of Oswald's service in Taiwan suggests not only that the chronology drawn from the DOD memorandum is misleading, but more specifically that during the 48 days he was supposedly confined at hard labor (June 27 - August 13, 1958, for owning an unregistered pistol and for pouring a drink over an officer's head, R683-84), he was in fact on a covert assignment.[1] This impression is confirmed by the fact that from either August or September 10, 1958,[2] Oswald was under observation and treatment for probable gonorrhea: thus reportedly "he was sent to the mainside dispensary" at "East Camp" on September 16 (8 H 313, 19 H 603), a day when according to the Report (R684) he was two days out at sea.

It would indeed have been surprising if Oswald had not served in Taiwan. As the Commission staff learned from other witnesses, the whole of his Marine Air Group (MAG-11) served in Taiwan "for a period of time" (8 H 318, cf. 8 H 284). The Department of Defense Annual Report for 1958-59 explains that this movement of MAG-11 was in response to the Quemoy crisis

[1] Cf. Folsom Exh. 1, 19 H 658. Lt. Col. Folsom was questioned in detail about this record of Oswald's service up to the date of June 27, 1958, but not thereafter (8 H 304-05). Thus he was not asked why Oswald's service record was retroactively altered for the period August-October 1958, or why his transfer "to sick" at Atsugi Station Hospital (cf.R654, 23 H 797) was deleted.

[2] The Reader must decide for himself whether the Sick Call Treatment Record at 19 H 601 (Donabedian Exh. 1) reads 8-10-58, or alternatively 9-10-58, as the Commission assumed (8 H 313).

of "late August 1958":

> By September 1 this group was performing limited operations, and by September 8 was fully operational from its new base at Ping-Tung Taiwan.... To maintain an adequate air defense in Japan, Marine Aircraft Group 13 was deployed from Hawaii to Atsugi, Japan, to replace Marine Aircraft Group 11....MAG 13 redeployed to its home base in March 1959 preliminary to the return of MAG 11 to Atsugi in April (pp. 228-29)

On the basis of this authoritative information, one can now choose between two alternative and conflicting accounts, both "official", of what Oswald did in October 1958. The Warren Report (R684), follows CE 1961 and Folsom Exhibit No. 1, the elaborately prepared "Marine Service Record" of Oswald (19 H 658) from which CE 1961 derives: these documents claim that from October 6 to November 2 Oswald was transferred to "general duty" with another unit of MAG-11 in Atsugi while awaiting return to the United States. They are however contradicted by a legally certifed "true copy" of Oswald's marine pay records (CE 3099, 26 H 715), which reached the Warren Commission on or after September 15, 1964 (nine days before the final Report was delivered to the President).

The pay records seem to have been systematically censored to delete "Miscellaneous Information" in Section 40 (26 H 713, 719, 721, 723). They do however corroborate Mrs. Oswalds claim that her son "had been in the Formosa crisis"(CE 1396, 22 H 723). For they show that Oswald's regular status with MAG-11 ended August 29; that he was in a new pay status

(unspecified, and possibly censored) from September 8 1958 (the exact date his group became fully operational in Taiwan) until October 17. On the latter date he was transferred to MAG-13, not to MAG-11. The partially suppressed chronology of the pay records is what we would expect from the Annual Report, since in October MAG-11 was no longer in Atsugi, but MAG-13 (like Oswald) was. The chronology is however incompatible with the alleged "Marine Service Record" and DOD Memorandum. Somewhere (probably in the Service record, which has been altered, 19 H 658) there has been elaborate falsification of official documents.

This falsification attests to the secret importance of Oswald's Marine service. The most benign and least conspiratorial explanation is that Oswald was indeed trained by the Marines to serve as an undercover agent. In this case the falsification of records would have been to help deceive the Russians in 1959, rather than (a possible felony under 18 USC 1001) the Warren Commission in 1963.

This suspicion is increased by the revelation that Oswald's "training officer" at Santa Ana in 1959, allegedly in radar surveillance, was a graduate of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, a school in which some professors also doubled as Army Reserve Officers. The training officer,

John E. Donovan, testified that "our function at that base was to surveil for aircraft, but basically to train both enlisted and officers for later assignment overseas." (8 H 290). Oswald had already begun to show an interest in Cuba, and made several trips to Castro's consulate in Los Angeles (8 H 250).

A colleague in the Marines implied surprise at the ease and rapidity with which Oswald obtained a hardship discharge to support his mother in 1959 ("it usually took so long to get a hardship discharge," 8 H 257). His surprise would have been greater if he had seen the supporting affidavits from Fort Worth Doctors Rex J. Howard, an orthopaedist, and Rex Z. Howard, an oto-laryngologist (19 H 736-37). Rex Z. Howard wrote on "Sept. 3, 1959" that he had been treating Oswald's mother for nasopharyngitis "since Sept. 5, 1959." Other affidavits from Fort Worth, including Rex J. Howard's, are dated September 4, the day after Oswald was transferred out of MACS-9 (in California) " in preparation for his discharge" (26 H 711, 19 H 658, R 689).[1]

The ease and rapidity of Oswald's discharge are surpassed by that of his defection. On September 4 Oswald, who already knew he would sail from New Orleans in about seventeen days, applied for a U.S. Pasaport "to attend the Albert Schweitzer College in Switzerland and the University of Turku in Finland, and to travel in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, England, France,

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[1] The pay records and "service record" agree (except in a technicality) that the transfer-out date was September 3; the Report cites the latter for its claim that the date was September 4.

Germany, and Russia." (R 689, CE 1114, 22 H 78).[1] On September 17 Oswald bought his ticket on a Lykes Bros. freighter in the International Trade Mart building in New Orleans (CE 2573, 26 H 29), and he sailed three days later (R 689, 26 H 21). How his travel was paid for has never been established: his only known savings account, which he withdrew on September 14, amounted to only $203 (CE 1150, 22 H 180). Nevertheless, after arrival in Le Havre, France, on October 8, Oswald was able to fly from London airport on October 10, arriving in Helsinki, Finland, the same day (CE 946, 18 H 162; CE 2676, 26 H 32). The CIA later determined that Oswald could not have taken the only direct commercial flight from London to Helsinki on that day, since he would have arrived too late to register (as claimed) at the Hotel Torni in Helsinki before midnight. As Sylvia Meagher points out,

> The Commission solves that problem by stating arbitrarily that Oswald left London on October 9, 1959 (R 690), untroubled by the fact that Oswald's passport contains a stamp of the immigration officer, London Airport, and the words "Embarked 10 Oct. 1959" (18 H 162)....Because the Commission did not establish the exact means by which Oswald traveled from London to Helsinki, there is reason to wonder if he went on a commercial flight at all.[2]

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[1] For some reason Oswald's height was entered as "5'11"," instead of the usually given "5'8" " or "5'9"". For some reason also the usual printed restriction in Oswald's pasaport against travel to Hungary was voided (CE 946, 18 H 162).

[2] Sylvia Meagher, Accessories After the Fact (New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1967). p. 331.

In any case, applying for a Soviet visa on the next day of business, October 12, Oswald entered the Soviet Union three days later (R 690). By accident or by prearrangement, Oswald had chosen one of the best crossing-points for such an expedition defection (CE 941; 18 H 155).

Oswald's half-hearted and ineffective attempt to "renounce" his U.S. citizenship is said by the Report to have begun on October 31, in the Moscow office of U.S. Consul Richard E. Snyder (R 747). But this in unlikely. Mr. Snyder, a former State Department intelligence (INR) officer, so testified under oath (5 H 262); but in his devotion to public service Mr. Snyder perjured himself, perhaps repeatedly, before the Warren Commission. For example, he asserted that there was only one other case (the Petrulli case) of such renunciation or attempted renunciation while he was in Moscow (5 H 279). In fact there was a strikingly similar third case, the case of Robert Edward Webster, who also told Snyder in October 1959 he would renounce U.S. citizenship.[1] Like Oswald, Webster also finally left the Soviet Union in May, 1962. Like Oswald, Webster was a former military electronics specialist (in the U.S. Navy). And like Oswald's, Webster's case is pregnant with intelligence overtones.[2]

[1] NYT [illegible], October 20, 1959, p. 3; cf. CE 960, 18 H 352

[2] A further clue to the sensitivity of the Webster case is the mis-entry of his name - as "Richard Webster" - in the index to the Warren Commission Hearings. The reader will be presented with many similar instances in which this index malfunctions in sensitive cases.

For Webster was, at the time of his defection, an employee of the Rand Development Corp., a private firm staffed with former OSS officers and apparently engaged on the side in private intelligence operations of its own. Henry J. Rand and George Bookbinder, the two men whose supporting affidavits strengthened the case for accepting Webster's renunciation (CE 915, 18 H 113), were both senior veterans of OSS.

The fact is that following Mr. Snyder's arrival in Moscow in June, 1959, there was a sudden and most unusual spate of U.S. defections to the Soviet Union. Commenting on the first of these, that of Mr. and Mrs. Libero Ricciardelli in July, the New York Times noted that "similar cases have been rare" since the 1930's;[1] yet Oswald in October 1959 was the fifth such person and there were two more by the year's end.[2] Oswald seems to have modelled his behavior on that of Nicholas Petrulli. On September 4, the very day that Oswald applied for his passport, UPI reported that Petrulli "waited today in a Moscow hotel room for official response to his request to become a citizen of the Soviet Union."[2] (The same UPI would later report of Oswald that he "shut himself up in his hotel room today to await a decision on his request for Soviet citizenship."[3]). The New York Times reported on September 19 that Petrulli, despite having formally

[1] NYT, July 20, 1959, p. 4.

[2] NYT, Sept. 5, 1959, p. 2.

[3] NYT, Nov. 3, 1959, p. 8.

renounced his U.S. citizenship, was allowed by U.S. authorities to regain it (he flew home two days later).[1] One wonders if Oswald read and was encouraged by this news before sailing from New Orleans on September 20.

Mr. Snyder's forgetfulness about the next case, that of Webster, can hardly have been accidental. The primary documents refer to an Embassy Despatch 224 dated October 26, 1959 (a document not reprinted or discussed) which dealt with the cases of both Oswald and Webster simultaneously (CE 917, 18 H 115; CE 914, 18 H 110). Two days later, on October 28, a confidential letter from Snyder to Washington raised the general question "as to how far the Embassy ought to go in 'defection' cases...of persons like Webster." (18 H 110). Yet Oswald, according to his own "Historic Diary," to Snyder and the Report, first came to Snyder and the Embassy on October 31 (R 264, CE 24, 16 H 97; 5 H 262; R 747).

All of this suggests that Oswald was already playing an unusual and important role, indeed an intelligence role, in 1959; and that Mr. Snyder of the State Department was also involved, if only to the extent of marginally strengthening his cover.[2]

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[1] NYT, Sept. 22, 1959, p. 10.

[2] Mr. Snyder's acceptance of Oswald's story at face value, even after the assination, contrasts with the reaction of his assistant, Mr. McVickar. McVickar, who was present at the interview despite Snyder's sworn testimony to the contrary (5 H 263, cf. 5 H 300) raised the possibility that Oswald "was following a pattern of behavior in which he had been tutored by person or persons unknown...that he had been in contact with others before or during his Marine Corps tour who had guided him and encouraged him in his actions" (CE 941, 18 H 155; cf. 18 H 332, 5 H 300-04).

Other U.S. agencies seem also to have been involved. For example, the Tokyo edition of the U.S. Armed Forces newspaper Stars and Stripes was apparently able to print part of the AP story on Oswald's defection which had been held in censorship by the Russians and thus did not reach the New York Times.[1]

That Oswald was on a covert assignment becomes much more interesting when we read U-2 pilot Gary Powers' suspicions that Oswald may have helped the Russians to shoot down his plane. Atsugi, Powers reports, was the base for U-2's in the Far East.[2] (The CIA, or "CAS", is said to have operated the U-2's out of this air station under the local cover name of JTAG, or Joint Technical Assistence Group.). Powers was further intrigued by the existence of a classified Warren Commission Document 931 (dated May 13, 1964, CIA National Security Classification Secret) entitled "Oswald's Access to Information About the U-2". His book however does not mention the uncolicited fact, revealed accidentally to the Commission by one of Oswald's Marine colleagues, that Oswald's own First Marine Air Corps Squadron was assigned the duty, when at Cubi Point in the Philippines,

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[1] CE 2683, 26 H 42; cf. NYT, November 1, 1959, p. 3. According to Oswald's "Historic Diary" (R 264) he held his first press interview at 2:00 P.M. October 31. Given the seven hour time difference between Moscow and Tokyo, one is impressed by the fact that the reporter could write and file his story in time for the November 1 edition of the Pacific Stars and Stripes, as well as by the latter's evasion of the Soviet censorship.

[2] Francis Gary Powers, Operation Overflight (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), p. 357.

of "closely guarding a hangar for a U-2 aircraft" (8 H 281). Oswald's colleagues also recalled that, after he returned from Asia to El Toro, Oswald "must have had secret clearance...because that was a minimum requirement for all of us" (8 H 298; cf. 8 H 232, 11 H 84). (Another colleague confirmed that in Oswald's group at El Toro "we all had secret clearances", (8 H 232). Such a clearance could hardly have been granted if Oswald had truly been found guilty in two court martials.[1]

According to the U.S. Embassy despatches sent at the time of Oswald's defection, Oswald appeared in person to renounce his citizenship, and "offered the information that he had been a radar operator in the Marine Corps." He added that he had told Soviet officials "he would make known to them such information concerning...his specialty as he possessed," and "intimated that he might know something of special interest" (CE 908, 18 H 98; cf. R 393; CE 910, 18 H 105). The apparent response of Naval authorities in the Pentagon to this information was anything

[1] A secret clearance seems if anything low for the advanced electronics information to which Oswald had access. Harold Weisberg once heard from an anonymous caller that Oswald had a "crypto clearance," which seems more probable (Harold Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 87.).

but alarmed: in a "Confidential" telegram (i.e. the lowest possible classification) of November 4, 1959, the Chief of Naval Operations informed Moscow: "No record of clearance at HQ, Marine Corps but possibility exists he may have had access to CONFIDENTIAL info" (CE 918, 18 H 116). According to the FBI, the Office of Naval Intelligence informed it on November 2, 1959, that ONI had no record of Oswald and contemplated no action against him" (CE 2718, 26 H 92).

This apparent composure was deceptive: in fact Oswald's defection "necessitated a lot of change of aircraft call signs, codes, radio frequencies, radar frequencies" (8 H 297).[1] Oswald meantime recorded in his diary that he was given a down payment of 5000 rubles by the Soviet Red Cross, and further monthly payments of 700 rubles to double his income as a Soviet worker (CE 24, 16 H 98-99).

Powers argues from the technical information known to Oswald (8 H 298; cf. 8 H 232) that Oswald in early 1959 Had access to the new American MPS 16 height-finding radar gear; he makes the alarming suggestion that his own flight

[1] Lieutenant Donovan told the New York Times "He knew the location of every unit on the West Coast and the radar capacity of every installation. We had to spend several thousand man-hours changing everything and verifying the destruction of the codes. Oswald was a very unpopular man that month." (NYT, Dec. 5, 1963)

(the second to occur after Oswald's defection) might have been betrayed by Oswald's information. Though it does not occur to Powers that Oswald could have so acted as an intelligence agent, his book strengthens the case that this might have been so. At the time of Oswald's defection the program of U-2 flights over the Soviet Union was inactive: "from early 1958 until April, 1960, we made almost none".[2]

Thus in late 1959 the U-2 secrets would have appeared to Washington to be a relatively inexpensive means for ant agent to gain Soviet confidence. It is true that the unexplained resumption of overflights in April 1960 proved disastrous in terms of Eisenhower's policy of rapprochment with Khrushchev. But (assuming Oswald were in some way responsible for bringing down Powers on May 1) the same disaster would have enormously increased Oswald's credibility with the Soviet intelligence authorities. Some of these, furthermore, were as hostile to Khrushchev and his slogan of "peaceful co-existence" as their American counterparts were to Eisenhower and his "spirit of Camp David".

Almost exactly a year later, on April 30, 1961, Oswald married Marina, who was then living with her uncle, Ilya Prusakov; her uncle at the very least was an Army colonel and party member in the MVD or Ministry of the Interior (R703);

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[1]Powers, p. 374; cf. pp. 69, 358.

in all probability he was himself an intelligence officer. Marina's family does not seem to have been much influenced by Communist culture. Marina who like her grandmother was educated at the former Smolny Institute for Noble Girls (8 H 364) was a practising Christian who insisted on baptizing her second child against Oswald's will (R719). Nevertheless, in May 1962 Oswald was able to leave the Soviet Union together with Marina, an example of Soviet permissiveness for which there was almost no precedent.[1] Oswald, in other words, should have seemed even more dubious to the U.S. authorities than before.

If Oswald was <u>not</u> an agent, then neither the Embassy nor the U.S. intelligence authorities had any knowledge of whether or not he had carried out this threat treasonously to transmit intelligence to the Soviet authorities, while still a member of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve. Yet the Report would have us believe that his return to the United States on June 13, 1962 was handled as a routine matter, that Naval and Marine authorities, having discharged Oswald dishonorably, took no further steps to prosecute or even investigate his conduct, and that the sole investigation of his

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[1]The CIA itself informed the Commission that, of 26 known cases when Soviet wives emigrated from the USSR, in only three cases did she leave with her husband (CE 2771, 26 H 157). Paul Raigorodsky, who worked for years with Russian refugees, regarded the Oswalds' story as "unbelievable" (9 H 22).

intended treason was a series of two uncorroborated FBI interviews in Fort Worth, during which the "impatient and arrogant" Oswald replied that "he did not care to 'relive the past'" (CE 823, 17 H 728; R715).[1] After this John Fain, an FBI agent in Fort Worth, obligingly closed the Oswald file (4 H 424).

In fact the Director of Naval Intelligence had been following the Oswald affair, as is indicated by the existence of his Confidential cable of March 3, 1962, mentioned but not printed in the Report's Appendix (CE 2686, 26 H 45). Other intelligence agencies also had been following Oswald's career since his defection, including CINCPAC, CIA, the FBI and "CAS", the CIA agency in Japan which had been responsible for the U-2 program (CE 2683, 26 H 42). In the State Department, Oswald's case was watched closely and actively by Otto Otepka, Deputy Director of the Office of Security and Head of its Division of Evaluation (SY/E), at least until Oswald's return in June 1962 (CE 2686, 26 H 45).[2] The FBI and Counterintelligence Division of theCIA, when asked by

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[1] The only officials said to have met Oswald in New York were an Immigration official (R713) and a representative of the Travelers' Aid Society (R 713). Oswald told the Society his brother "can't pay fare as earnings as delivery man for a milk company are low." (CE 2655, 26 H 10). In fact his brother could and did send the fare (R713), and had for two years been sales co-ordinator for a brick company (1 H 267).

[2] Otepka kept the Oswald file in his own office suite: cf. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Judiciary, State Department Security - 1963-65 - Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, Hearings, 88th Congress, 2nd Session, (Washington: G.P.O., 1964), p. 1236

Immigration authorities for information about the Oswalds, be referred back to the Security files in the Department of State (CE 1070, 22 H 21).

With the numerous intelligence and security files being kept on Oswald, one must attribute to design, rather than oversight, the failure of the State Department on three separate occasions to prepare lookout cards warning against the issuance of a new passport (R751, 772). On two of these occasions the preparation of such a card was mandatory, rather than discretionary. Yet no cards were ever prepared, despite a file memorandum on one occasion (after the typing up of a "refusal sheet") that "an appropriate notice has been placed in the lookout card section" (R751, Meagher, pp. 332-34). Later, in June 1963, Oswald would receive a new passport for his Mexican visit in one day, despite the fact that the letters NO had been written by some official against his name (and his alone) out of a list of 25 (R774, CE 952, 18 H 314).

This special treatment of the Oswald file, I repeat, was by design rather than oversight, and had to do with Oswald's evident performance as some kind of agent. That this design was that of a U.S. Government agency rather than of some cabal inside it, is much less clear. One has to recall that

until 1962, so far as the State Department was concerned, all aspects of the Oswald case (passport for Lee, visa for Marina, and security) were handled operationally within a single consolidated Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs (SCA). This Bureau was constituted in response to McCarthyite and China Lobby charges of Communism inside the State Department, and was through the 1950's staffed prominently by the so-called team of Scott McLeod, persons drawn from or sympathetic to the FBI. When Oswald went to Russia in 1959, this team, though it had many enemies in the State Department, had the approval and support of the Republican Administration and in particular of Assistant Secretary John W. Hanes III (who when not in State was a director of Olin Mathieson).

In 1962, when Oswald returned, the scene had changed. On the one hand, the Kennedys supported Rusk in diminishing the FBI's control over State through the Bureau of Security and Consular Affairs, by dismantling the SCA Bureau and dispersing its personnel. On the other hand Otepka and others within SCA supported the right-wing charge (distorted, but not wholly absurd) that Castro had risen to power and stayed there with the connivance of "pro-Communists" within the government. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,

by holding repeated Hearings on the subject of State Department Security, supported Otepka and other SCA personnel in what became more and more a right-wing vendetta against the Kennedy Administration.

On November 5, 1963, 17 days before the assassination, Otepka was removed from his post, for having passed confidential State Department documents to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Though the immediate motive for Otepka's action (which he freely admitted) was his quarrel with alleged State Department support for Castro, this was only the latest phase in the Subcommittee's long battle to demonstrate the existence of a Communist conspiracy within the State Department and CIA. Perhaps the chief architect of this right-wing attack on the State Department was the Subcommittee's counsel during the 1950's, Robert Morris, a veteran of the Amerasia and IPR Hearings and other investigations inspired by the old China Lobby. Otepka was a Navy Security Officer during the war, when Morris was a counter-intelligence officer for the Third Naval District; in 1963, when the State Department first aired charges of Otepka's disloyalty, Robert Morris rushed to his defense as President of the Defenders of American Liberty.[1]

Morris was now a lawyer in Dallas in close touch with the H.L. Hunt family, the John Birch Society, and the Young

[1] NYT, Sept. 27, 1963, p. 13

Americans for Freedom; he had been General Walker's counsel in connection with the "Ole Miss" riots of 1962, and was one of the gray eminences behind the full-page Birch Society ad in the Dallas News that challenged Kennedy and the CIA on the morning of his assassination (5 H 526, 23 H 687, 18 H 886). Without anticipating our story, we can emphasize at this stage that the Commission Exhibits suggest that in 1962 those with the primary responsibility for handling Oswald's case were remnants of the Scott McLeod team like Otto Otepka, a right-wing veteran of naval security in State.[1] This fact is particularly interesting in the light of the mysterious political meeting uncovered by another Commission Exhibit (CE 1049, 18 H 886) involving Otepka's friend Morris, Army veteran Larrie Schmidt who organized the Birch Society ad, a representative of H.L. Hunt, and a so-called "George Ward", a detective with the Dallas City Police.

Knowing these facts, one can look more closely at the circumstances of Oswald's return to the United States, and see a hidden network behind the apparently "low-level" personnel who encountered him. In support of the FBI's story that it did not meet Oswald in New York, the Report, on the basis on ample documentation, informs us that, on arrival, the Oswalds were met "by Spas T. Raikin, a representative of the Traveler's Aid Society," who "helped them through customs" (R 713). But Raikin was as unusual a

[1] This impression is corroborated by CE 831(17 H 789) the FBI report that in 1959, after Oswald had allegedly served 45 days at hard labor while working in the presence of U-2's, ONI and Marine files had no derogatory information on Oswald.

welfare worker as Oswald was a shipping agent. ~~Though I have found no reference to him in print in the United States,~~ A Taiwan publication of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL) reveals that Spas T. Raikin was Secretary-General of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Nations, Inc. (AF-ABN). As such Raikin was in personal contact with the APACL and thus indeed with the Central Committee of the Kuomintang in Taiwan.[1]

If it is true that Raikin met Oswald at the boat then Oswald would have been in direct contact with a semi-covert and supra-national anti-communist organization, one which had strong intelligence connections. This new Anti-komintern (in which both the APACL and ABN were represented) had direct personal links with the abortive international Anti-komintern established by Hitler and Goebbels in the 1930's.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations or ABN (with its American lobby, the AF-ABN) was similar to, but slightly to the right of, the CIA-supported Assembly of Captive European Nations or ACEN (with its U.S.-CIA front, the American Friends of the Captive Nations, headed by Christopher Emmet). Whereas the ACEN lobbied for the "liberation" of Poland, Czechoslovakia,

[1] Free China and Asia (Taipeh), August 1959, p. 28; cf. Ukrainian Bulletin (April, 1960), p.6. Ku Cheng-kang and Fang Chih, two chief organizers of the APACL and of its member agency the Free China Relief Agency, are both KMT CC members; cf. Peter Dale Scott, The War Conspiracy (New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1972), p.

and the rest of the area between the Iron Curtain and the USSR, the ABN looked also the the liberation of the Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, Cossackia, Azerbaijan, Idel-Ural, Turkestan -- and of other ethnic nationalities inside the 1939 borders of the Soviet Union.

At the heart of the ABN alliance were the resources of two actual post-war underground movements, the Hungarian Freedom Fighters and the Ukrainian OUN or underground army. By 1960, however, the ABN had come to concentrate on psychological and political warfare. Thus it competed with Russian emigre organizations (such as the NTS, to be discussed shortly) for places in U.S.-supported psy-war activities like "Radio Liberation" (later re-named Radio Liberty) in Munich. It also participated in planning for a grand world alliance of world anti-communist forces, to be called the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation (WACCFL), whose composition is indicated by the fifteen -man Steering Committee elected at a Preparatory Conference in Mexico City in March 1958.[1]

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[1] Ukrainian Bulletin, April 1-15, 1958, p. 6: "THE STEERING COMMITTEE - The World Anti-Communist Congress For Freedom and Liberation will be prepared by a fifteen-man Steering Committee, which was elected at the Preparatory Conference in Mexico City. It comprises the following leaders: Dr. Ku Chang-Kang (Free China), Dr. L. George Paik (Korea) and Mr. Nguyen Huu Thong (Vietnam) -- Asia. Admiral Carlos Penna Botto (Brazil), Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens (Mexico) and Dr. Sergio Fernandez Larrain (Chile) -- Latin America. Hon. Charles Edison and Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky -- United States. (cont.)

The Mexico City Conference was itself called in response to the "Taipeh Statement" of an international group meeting in October 1957 in Taiwan.[1] Chiang Kai-shek of Taiwan, Rhee of South Korea, and Diem of South Vietnam were each represented in this Steering Committee by a top figure in their respective party apparatus. German veterans of Hitler's frustrated Anti-komintern and Ostpolitik programs were included, notably Fritz Cramer of the CIAS ("Committee for Information and Social Activity"), a former officer of the Abwehr in Riga and Lisbon from 1939 - 45.[2] (Alfred Gielen,

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(cont.) Fritz Cramer and George Dallas -- Europe. Yaroslav Stetzko and General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak -- the ABN. [In addition, two seats on the Steering Committee have been reserved for the Middle East and South Africa.] Martin Liebman (United States)--General Secretary of the Steering Committee; Francis J. McNamara (United States) Deputy General Secretary; Salvador Diaz Verson (Cuba) -- Secretary of the Press; Regional Secretaries: Ernesto de la Fe (Cuba) -- Latin America; Alfred B. Gielen (Germany) -- Europe; and Inamullah Khan (Pakistan) -- Asia."

[2] Der Ist Wer, 1955. In the 1950's Cramer was also President of Eberhard Taubert's Volksbund für Frieden and Freiheit or VFF, an industry-financed private vigilante group to ferret out and maintain files on German leftists. Taubert, the head of Division Pro II in Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry, had prided himself on being the wire-puller behind the Anti-Comintern" (Kurt P Tauber, Beyond Eagle and Swastika (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan U.P., 1967), I, 150; II, 1049-50).

[1] Ukrainian Quarterly (March 1958), pp. 70-71.

CIAS Secretary-General and a former Nazi publicist for Goebbels' Anti-komintern, became the WACCFL Steering Committee's "regional secretary" for Europe).[1] The American representatives were veteran China Lobbyist Charles Edison of the John Birch Society and American Security Council and Lev Dobriansky, a Ukrainian-American Army Reserve Officer and professor at Georgetown U. with close links to Army intelligence circles. The ABN had two of the fifteen seats on the World committee (one less than Latin America). Its representatives were Yaroslav Stetzko, briefly a Premier of the short-lived Ukrainian Republic at the time of the 1941 German invasion, and Ferenc Farkas, the ABN military chief who commanded the army of Arrow-Cross chief Ferenc Szalasi (executed as a war criminal) against the Russians in World War II.[2]

By 1962 both the new Anti-komintern movement and the American Friends of the ABN in particular were profoundly dissatisfied with the Kennedys' State Department. Rusk, in opposing the demands of the AF-ABN and allied groups for a permanent Congressional Captive Nation's Committee,[3]

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[1] Cf. Alfred B. Gielen Das Rotbuch Über Spanien (Berlin: Nibelungen-Verlag, 1937), published for the Anti-komintern under a large swastika. Taubert was the political director of the Nibelungen publishing house.

[2] Dennis Eisenberg. The Re Emergence of Fascism (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1967), p. 251

[3] For this 1961 memorandum of the AF-ABN, see the Ukrainian Bulletin, June 1, 1961, p. 51

went out of his way to refer to Ukraine, Armenia, and Georgia, not as "nations", but as "traditional parts of the Soviet Union": Rusk did not want the U.S. "in the undesirable position of seeming to advocate the dismemberment of an historical state."[1] This "Rusk letter", like other features of the Kennedy administration's Russian policy, was repeatedly polemicized against by ABN and other emigre elements, including a sympathetic veteran of Army intelligence, Charles Willoughby of the American Security Council.

Was Oswald ignored by the FBI in New York City, and instead met and cared for by Spas T. Raikin, the Secretary-General of the AF-ABN? So the Report would have us believe; but a simpler and ~~more plausible alternative~~ less conspiratorial explanation (albeit unprovable) is that Raikin was himself some kind of agent either for the FBI or some analogous agency such as the CIA or Army Intelligence.[2] If he was not, then the contact and/or surveillance which one would expect from the FBI had somehow been delegated to a member of a right-wing political organization which (despite its intelligence connections) was directly engaged in a bitter polemic with the Kennedy Administration.

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[1] Dean Rusk, letter of August 27, 1961 to Rep. Howard W. Smith, Chairman, House Rules Committee, Ukrainian Bulletin, Dec. 1-15 1961, p. 94.

[2] Another possibility, much less likely, is that Raikin did not in fact meet Oswald, but lent his name (he was never called to testify under oath) as a cover to the FBI. Many FBI veterans have been friendly to the ABN cause.

This polemic dealt not only with the issues of "rolling back" Communism in Eastern Europe, but also with the politically related issues of a permanent "Volunteer Freedom Corps" or U.S.-supported foreign legion, a permanent Freedom Academy for training in psychological warfare, and a permanent Captive Nations Committee of the U.S. Congress. On the first two issues the AF-ABN position was also lobbied for vigorously by the APACL,[1] and also in America by the American Security Council,[2] a private coalition of industrialists and intelligence veterans which had been set up in 1955 by ex-agents of the FBI.[3] The American Security Council, like Fritz Cramer's sister-outfit in West Germany (the VFF), ran security-checks on individuals seeking employment in private industry. Its index of over one million alleged "subversives" was based on the anti-Semitic files of Harry A. Jung's American Vigilant Intelligence Federation, which had collaborated with the Goebbels-Taubert Anti-

[1] Free China and Asia, December 1960, pp. 5-6; May-June 1962, pp. 10, 12; August 1962, pp. 19-20.

[2] Frank Johnson (foreign editor, American Security Council), No Substitute for Victory (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1962), esp. pp. 201-08; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, "How We Can Win the Cold War," Washington Report (newsletter of the American Security Council), June 4, 1962

[3] William Turner, Hoover's FBI (Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, 1970), p. 335

komintern in the 1930's.[1] Lev Dobriansky (described in Who's Who as the "author" of the Congressional Captive Nations Week Resolution) and former Army General Charles Willoughby (MacArthur's top intelligence officer) were perhaps the two leading supporters of the ABN and Ukrainian cause. Both men were Republicans associated with Robert Morris in the American Security Council and in interlocking right-wing organizations such as the Young Americans for Freedom Advisory Board. Both men opposed the pro-Russian sympathies of the CIA, and had connections with the FBI, the Army and the Army Reserve (which will figure prominently in the Oswald narrative). Dobriansky, who taught regularly at Georgetown University, also taught at the Army's National War College. In 1958 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the Army Reserve's 352nd Division for "Military Government Civil Affairs" (with responsibilities vaguely reminiscent of the movie "Seven Days in May").[2] Anthony Bouscaren, a third pro-ABN spokesman associated with

[1] O.T. Rogge, The Official German Report (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1961). p. 141, cf. John Roy Carlson, Under Cover (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1943), pp. 218-19, 391.

[2] According to The Ukrainian Bulletin (January 1-15, 1958, p. 1), "the 352nd Military Government unit...is a type A reserve which concerns itself with military government administration and supervision over countries with populations over 25 million people. It is the only reserve unit of this kind in this country."

Dobriansky and Willoughby in the American Security Council and the Young Americans for Freedom) attracts our attention because (like Oswald) he served in the Marines, [illegible] in Munich on October 15, 1959, as Ukrainian guerilla leader Stepan Bandera, allegedly at the behest of Soviet agent Bogdan Stashynsky, was exploited by Ukrainian Nationalist and ABN spokesmen to demonstrate the importance of their movement to the Soviet authorities, and more particularly to oppose the growing rapprochement between the American and Soviet governments. Later spokesmen for the American right-wing sought to link Stashynsky to Oswald, some even speculating that they had both been trained at the same special "Department 13" school for assassins in Moscow.[1] Curiously, none of these spokesmen observed that the date of Bandera's death, October 15, 1959, was the date Oswald entered Russia. But at least one of these pro-Ukrainian spokesmen, former Representative Charles Kersten (who had succeeded Edison as a member of the World Anti-Communist Steering Committee alluded to earlier) began to develop the picture of a Soviet assassin conspiracy, two weeks before the assassination:

[1] New York Journal-American, January 11, 1964; cf. Ukrainian Bulletin, January 1-15, 1964, p. 1.

> Fifteen days before he was shot down, President Kennedy was warned that assassins were being trained in Russia to commit murders in the U.S. and England. This warning was voiced in a letter former Rep. Charles Kersten (R-Wis.) sent the late President and his brothers, Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy and Senator Edward Kennedy....The burden of Kersten's letter was an effort to obtain Administration help in focusing public attention on the assassination of Stepan Bandera, the Ukrainian underground leader, by Communist agents. In urging this, Kersten wrote: "The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has been contemplating a hearing of the killing in Munich of the Ukrainian underground leader, Stepan Bandera, by the former Soviet agent Bogdan Stashynsky [whose German trial Kersten attended as counsel for Mrs. Bandera]. It was a bizarre assassination illustrating the subversive operations of the Soviet police in the free world. Apparently, the State Department is trying to prevent the hearing....Before his defection, Stashynsky was being trained for high-level killings in England and the U.S. There are others in such training, according to his testimony....I have been informed indirectly that the State Department called for a delay of the hearings and may possibly desire their cancellation."

Three or four days after the Kennedy assassination, a Munich right-wing newspaper linked to the ABN (the Deutsche National-Zeitung und Soldaten-Zeitung) was able to publish the hitherto unrevealed story that Oswald shot at General Walker, and added to it the story that Oswald and Ruby together had been released at the insistence of Robert Kennedy

[1] Robert S. Allen and Paul Scott, Philadelphia Daily News, November 26, 1963; reprinted in Ukrainian Bulletin, January 1-15, 1964, p. 2.

(2562; supra., p. 000). Either coincidentally or conspiratorially, the press secretary of the World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation Steering Committee added to the picture that Oswald was part of a left-wing assassination plot. The press secretary, Salvador Diaz Verson, President of the Liga Anticomunista de Cuba and a former chief of Cuba's Military Intelligence Service under Prio Socarras, helped start an unfounded rumor in Miami that Oswald, while in Mexico City in September 1963, "met the Cuban Ambassador in a Mexico City restaurant, and they drove off in the Ambassador's car so they could talk privately" (CE 2947, 26 H 410). (Other Cuban exiles in Miami, in touch with State Department Security officers, were at this time spreading rumors about the pro-Castro connections of Jack Ruby, CE 3056, 26 H 613).

We shall come later to Oswald's apparent link, while in New Orleans in 1963, to Americans who were in touch with the Latin-American elements of the WACFL Steering Committee: Maurice B. Gatlin, part of a right-wing group at an address used by Oswald for his "Fair Play for Cuba Committee," attended a Congress in 1958 of the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent (CIADC), along with Salvador Diaz Verson, Fritz Cramer, Ku Cheng-kang, and Nestor Procyk, the Chairman of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. All of this suggests a continuity (albeit one that may be more symptomatic than explanatory) underlining the significance of Oswald's contact with Spas T. Raikin in June 1962.

III

MARINA

III-1

Thesis III: After the assassination there were repeated conspiratorial efforts to extract from Marina Oswald false evidence against her late husband. Those involved in these efforts included Jack Crichton of Army Reserve Intelligence Service, at least one Russian "interpreter" from Oswald's restricted circle of contacts in the oil industry, and at least four apparently unrelated persons linked to Marina's post-assassination hosts (the Great Southwest Corporation) and their lawyers (Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley). Bedford Wynne of this law firm, a prominent oil lobbyist in Washington for the Murchisons, was investigated for his role in a Murchison kickback to Bobby Baker.

The case that Oswald was an agent is strengthened by the paradoxical condition of poverty and privilege in which the Oswalds lived after their arrival in Texas. Though he severed all contact with his family after Thanksgiving 1962, and though he seems to have made not one single friend otherwise, Oswald and his wife Marina were now favored with the attentions of a small circle of wealthy Russians and their friends, connected almost exclusively with the politically influential petroleum engineering industry. The Warren Commission's list of thirty-four persons "with whom Lee Harvey Oswald may have had contact" (CE 3116, 26 H 760) -- many of whom met Oswald for only a single evening -- is striking testimony that Oswald's social life was entirely governed by his Russian patrons. Every single person on this list (as well as some others whom the Commission did not include) had been met by the Oswalds through these patrons. This includes the alleged liberal Ruth Paine of the ACLU, who assumed the same baby-sitting role between mid-April 1963 (the time of the Walker incident) and November 22, 1963, when relations between the Oswald family and the Russian community were temporarily suspended.

This Russian community, by no accident, had links with wealth, petroleum, the political machines of both parties, government, and above all intelligence activities. Take for example the two first people whom Oswald contacted, allegedly, in his search for someone in Fort Worth who spoke Russian. Of the two, the Russian-born Peter Gregory (a petroleum engineer) was a personal friend of Mike Howard, one of the two Secret Service agents who isolated Marina Oswald in the days after the assassination. We shall see that Howard used Gregory in his interrogations of Marina, and that Gregory abused this responsibility by significantly distorting what Marina said.

The second person, Gregory's friend Mrs. Max Clark (a princess of the Sherbatov family) was apparently the first Russian with whom Oswald made telephone contact (8 H 344-45). Yet she was not asked by the Commission to testify, the significance of this initial contact was systematically denigrated in the Report,[1] and Mrs. Clark's name was even suppressed from the Commission's list of 34 possible Oswald contacts (26 H 760). This is hardly surprising. Though Commission counsel Wesley Liebeler dextrously avoided bringing this fact out (8 H 343),[2] Max Clark, who was on a first-name basis with the Fort Worth FBI agent who interviewed him (Earl Haley, 8 H 349), was a former security officer for the Convair Division of General Dynamics (8 H 352): and he himself was (according to one witness) "in some way connected with the FBI" (9 H 235).[2] And Convair, up to the time of the Kennedy assassination, was being investigated by a Senate Committee for possible major scandals surrounding the controversial contract award to build the TFX experimental fighter plane.

[1] R281: "Shortly after his arrival Oswald obtained the name of two Russian speaking persons in Fort Worth from the office of the Texas Employment Commission in that city. Attempts to arrange a prompt visit with one of them failed. The second person, Peter Paul Gregory, was a consulting engineer..." The italicized statement is based on Max Clark's testimony that his family did not meet the Oswalds until September 1962 (8 H 344-45) though there was abundant testimony contradicting this (9 H 7, 9 H 224-25), and Clark himself stated he did not know whether he or Gregory talked to Oswald first (8 H 345-46).

It is important to recall that in the McLellan' Subcommittee Hearings into the TFX contract award, the conduct of two men in particular had drawn public scrutiny. One was Roswell Gilpatric, Deputy Secretary of Defense, whose past and present contracts with General Dynamics seemed to indicate possible conflict of interest. The other was Fred Korth, who resigned as Navy Secretary in October 1963 after a letter of his had been published showing abuse of his office

[1] "Mr. LIEBELER. 'I want to hear your knowledge of Lee Oswald gained as a result of somewhat limited contact with him, your knowledge of his relations with this so-called Russian community here....How long have you been a member of the bar? ' Mr.CLARK. 'Since 1939.-- now I have to stop and think--' Mr. LIEBELER. 'That's good enough; that's just fine, and you are a native-born American, Mr. Clark?' Mr CLARK. 'Yes'"

Thus Mr. Clark became the only Russian contact of Oswald's in Texas before the Commission who was not asked to testify as to his employment.

[2] Industrial security agents, as is well known, are in fact very often former FBI agents; cf. William Turner, Hoover's FBI (Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, 1970). pp. 238, 334

to favor his own Continental National Bank of Fort Worth. It then developed that the Continental National Bank (of which Korth had formerly been President, 1959-62) was "a minor partner in a consortium that had made loans to General Dynamics".[1] Shortly after the assassination, the New York Herald Tribune was able correctly to predict that the Senate investigation of the TFX contract had "been laid quietly aside" and might "never be revived."[2] The McClellan Subcommittee had met last on November 20 (two days before the assassination) and closed with Chairman McClellan's undertaking "to resume hearings next week."[3] Informed journals like Business Week predicted that Fred Korth would be the next witness.[4] But Korth, a long-time friend and political ally of his fellow-Texan Lyndon Johnson, never was called to testify; and the hearings promised for "next week" were not resumed until six years later.

Shortly before the assassination another Senate Committee investigating Bobby Baker heard charges from Don Reynolds, Baker's former business associate, that there had been a $100,000 pay-off on the TFX contract.[5] Such testimony was only one instance in which the 1963 TFX and Bobby Baker investigations were beginning to focus on a single area, the

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[1] NYT, Nov. 28, 1963, p. 17.

[2] New York Herald Tribune (Paris Edition), Dec. 11, 1963; quoted in Joachim Joesten, The Dark Side of Lyndon Baines Johnson (London: Peter Dawnay, 1968), pp. 207-08.

[5] David Demaris, Captive City (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1969), p. 227.

[3] U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee on Government Operations, TFX Contract Investigation, Hearings, 88th Cong., 1st Sess. (November 20, 1963), p. 2740.

[4] Business Week, November 23, 1963, p. 33; Aviation Week and Space Technology, November 25, 1963, p. 25

financial-political alliances behind Lyndon Johnson. Reynolds was in fact giving testimony in closed session about the Bobby Baker scandal, which threatened to terminate Lyndon Johnson's political career, at the moment the assassination occurred.[1] The Bobby Baker investigation, too, was deflected from such high-level implications after the assassination.

If the Commission really wished to destroy a false impression that the assassination was a conspiracy, it should have investigated the links, however trivial, between Korth and the Oswald family. Korth, after all, had been present at the June 1963 meeting at which the President decided to visit Texas (7 H 475). One would therefore be interested to know whether Korth had had any contact with the Oswald case in the years between 1948, when he was attorney for a Mr. Ekdahl in his divorce from Mrs. Marguerite Oswald (CE 1960-A, 23 H 786), and 1962, when he took over as Navy Secretary from his friend John Connally, then about to become Governor of Texas, the responsibility for Oswald's "dishonorable discharge" (1 H 450).

The guiding influence over the Oswalds of Gregory and of three other Russians, all connected with each other and with the petroleum engineering industry, can only be described

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[1] Alfred Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 602.

as analogous to that of intelligence "case officers" for their subjects. If the Oswalds needed a car to go shopping or to be moved, the Russian families were there to lend a hand (R718-22). The penniless Marina Oswald is said to have had a hundred dresses given to her in this period (R400, 9 H 211) -- a claim wholly overlooked by the Commission in its penny-by-penny accounting of the Oswald possessions and budget (R741-45).

One of the chief Russian guardians, George Bouhe, was a sixty-year old personal accountant for Lewis MacNaughton of the famous oil exploration consulting service DeGolyer and MacNaughton, a man with numerous CIA contacts.[1] Bouhe was said actually to have been "rather mad at Marina for taking an apartment at Oak Cliff because it was rather too far for him to drive and help her when she needed help with the baby" (2 H 304, Mrs. Ford). Lee Oswald, who worked in this period as a welder, greaser, or handyman, was also driven to parties and otherwise cared for by a member of the Dallas Petroleum Club and World Affairs Council, Count Sergei de Mohrenschildt, who knew Jackie Kennedy's family and who admitted working with French intelligence during

[1]For example MacNaughton was a director of Republic National Gas and the Republic National Bank in Dallas with Karl Hoblitzelle, who set up the CIA-conduit Hoblitzelle Foundation. The President of the Hoblitzelle Foundation was Peter O'Donnell, Jr., a Goldwater Republican who sat on the National Advisory Council of the Young Americans for Freedom with Robert Morris. One trustee was Sarah T. Hughes, the judge who on November 22, 1963, administered the controversial oath of office to her friend and patron Lyndon Johnson. (Newsweek, Feb. 27, 1967, p. 26 ;Manchester, pp. 311-15).

World War II(9 H 183). De Mohrenschildt, a key witness in corroborating Marina's story that Oswald shot at Walker, also had numerous political and CIA contacts: he was accustomed to do business on a personal basis with such prominent backers of Lyndon Johnson as George Brown (9 H 17, 214) of Brown and Root (the firm whose lawyer Charles Francis helped save Johnson's Senate election in 1948) and John Mecom (9 H 211).[1]

Mrs. Katya Ford, who after the assassination took Marina into her house and became her business agent, is of the Oswalds' four Russian patrons the only one alleged to be linked to Jack Ruby.[2] At first the Warren Commission was asking witnesses about Stanley Skotnicki and Katya Skotnicki (1 H 239, 436), as two persons in a list "supposed to be associates or friends of people that Mr. Ruby knew and

[1]George Brown was President of the Brown Foundation, a CIA conduit; a director of Brown's firm Texas Eastern Transmission was trustee of the CIA-conduit San Jacinto Fund, whose founder was John Mecom. A third director of Texas Eastern, George A. Butler, was trustee of the CIA-conduit Hobby Foundation with Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, who sat on the CIA's Cuban Freedom Committee with the aforementioned Peter O'Donnell, Jr. According to Evans and Novak (Lyndon B. Johnson, New York, Signet, 1968, p. 27) the Brown brothers "became Lyndon Johnson's personal vehicle for a lateral movement into the center of the new oil power."

[2]De Mohrenschildt was however accustomed to skate at the Fair Park ice arena (8 H 467) which was also frequented by Jack Ruby and his old friend Joseph Cody of the Dallas Police. Cody was a veteran of the Army Counter Intelligence Corps during the Korean War and in that capacity "had been assigned in Dallas" (CE 1736, 23 H 344).

associated with closely." (1 H 239). The Commission's interest in the Skotnickis vanished rather than quickened when it learned that Katya Skotnicki was in fact Marina's hostess Mrs. Ford, and that Stanley Skotnicki was Mrs. Ford's first husband; even after Mrs. de Mohrenschildt volunteered the unsolicited information that Skotnicki "was too anxious to make too much money" (9 H 306). Though Katya denied knowing Ruby, she and her husband Declan Ford (an employee of De Golyer and MacNaughton until October 1962) suggested that their friend and neighbor John M. Grizzaffi (a friend of Stanley Skotnicki who was always talking about people "in politics") did know Ruby (2 H 296, 323). Whereupon the Comcission's interest in Grizzaffi, a man whose name was found among Ruby's effects (CE 1322, 22 H 503) also vanished (cf. Index, 15 H 768). It thus failed to learn whether Johnn Grizzaffi, the friend of Marina's guardian and of Jack Ruby, was the "Little Johnny Grissaffi" who shot at Herb Noble on a murder contract for mobster "Benny the Cowboy" Binion, back in 1946.[1]

What the Report (R400) calls "the so-called Russian community" in Dallas and Fort Worth was an unusually intense and political one, intense even in its divisions. As the Warren Commission Hearings make clear, all but a "small bunch"

[1] Ed Reid and Ovid Demaris, The Green Felt Jungle (New York: Trident Press, 1963), p. 191.

of the Russians in the Dallas area had been brought there since 1949, through the good offices of the Tolstoy Foundation, which had screened immigrants carefully to exclude those of left-wing political views (9 H 5). Those Dallas Russians who left Russia during World War II (like Mrs. Ford) were of course less aristocratic than the "Old Guard" of two decades earlier. The Church of the "Old Guard", the Orthodox Church outside Russia, received CIA subsidies; and the CIA is said to have used it to recruit spies among the White Russian communities in the cities of mainland China. The Tolstoy Foundation, which maintains a European headquarters in Munich, received "as much as $400,000 a year subsidy" from the American Government (i.e. the CIA) for aiding refugees (9 H 5). In 1948 the Tolstoy Foundation helped arrange the defection of Anna Kasenkina, a teacher who leapt from the window of the Russian Consulate in New York. Christopher Emmet (of the China, Cuban, and Vietnam Lobbies) played a prominent role in that defection, on behalf of a group calling itself "Common Cause, Inc.", which also lobbied for Chiang Kai-shek.

The other American to do so was Isaac Don Levine, editor of the China Lobby review Plain Talk and later a member of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia. Levine was the ghost writer for Anna Kasenkina's

autobiography, "Leap to Freedom": his radical re-writing of an article by Emanuel Larsen in Plain Talk (Larsen later disowned the piece, saying he could hardly recognize it) was also the basis for Robert Morris' attack on the State Department "communist conspiracy" in the Amerasia Hearings.[1] In January 1964, through the good offices of the Declan Fords, Levine met Marina Oswald about writing a book similar to Kasenkina's (2 H 312). In an executive session of the Warren Commission Mr. McCloy told his colleagues that the Levine book would try to tie the Oswald story "into the Russian business....with the thought and background of a Russian connection, conspiracy concept."[2] For Isaac Don Levine the "Russian conspiracy concept" would have been old hat.

The real patron of the Dallas Russian community was the Dallas oil millionaire Paul Raigorodsky, a director of the Tolstoy Foundation who had also performed other confidential missions for the U.S. Government in Europe (8 H 358; 9 H 3, 5). George Bouhe testified before the Commission that while

[1] U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, State Department Employee Loyalty Investigation, 81st Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 1237, 1248, 968, etc.

[2] Reprinted in David S. Lifton (ed.), Document Addendum to the Warren Report (El Segundo Calif.: Sightext Publications, 1968), p. 26. James Martin also testified that Levine "was trying to tie in Oswald...with the Communist Party or some attachment there some place" (1 H 487). Meredith Press, Levine's publisher (1 H 438), has since published a sympathetic study of the Garrison investigation by Paris Flammonde (The Kennedy Conspiracy); but as of this writing four letters from my bookseller to Meredith have failed to obtain it.

Raigorodsky was the "godfather" of the group, he himself "did the organization work" (8 H 358); others testified that he "even kept files on new arrivals" (8 H 453). From the fact that all members of the Russian community were "well acquainted...with each other", Commission counsel Jenner elicited testimony that it was "perfectly normal" (9 H 7) for the community to have lavished such care on the Oswalds.

Nevertheless, from April to November 1963 the Russian community severed all contact with the Oswalds (even when Marina was separated and more helpless than before), and their baby-sitting role was now temporarily assumed by the Russian-speaking American Ruth Paine, a Quaker. Ruth Paine had her own contacts with the Russian community (9 H 107, 133), but had "accidentally" met the Oswalds through one Russian she did not know -- Count de Mohrenschildt (R 722).

Before April the avowed Marxist Oswald was cared for by the "Old Guard" Russians. These were mostly aristocratic and united in their nostalgia for the ancien regime, in contrast to the more recent and plebeian post-war emigres (8 H 452, 9 H 6-11). Differences between these two emigrations produced two separate Russian parishes in Dallas during the 1950's, each claiming to be more anti-Communist than the other but divided on the issue of what to do about the "liberation" of Russia.[1] To judge from their testimony, the Old Guard,

[1] De Mohrenschildt for example offended Voshinin and others by a speech he delivered on the subject of General Vlassov.

even if Czarist in their nostalgia, echoed the policies of the American CIA establishment of which they were indeed part. The new arrivals included Ukrainians (8 H 415, 379) and other non-Russian Soviet minorities (9 H 131); and some of them, although less aristocratic, were ideologically more right-wing and revanchiste. At least two of the new arrivals were far to the right of de Mohrenschildt, whom one of them described in one breath as a "leftist" and as "an Eisenhower ...Republican" (8 H 466). Unlike all the other Russians investigated by the Commission, these two men, Ilya Mamantov and Igor Voshinin, are said to have made a point of never meeting the Oswalds before the assassination. Yet it was their circle, rather than the Old Guard, which adopted Marina thereafter.

The two Russians who did not meet Oswald are even more interesting than the rest who did. Igor Voshinin was a member (9 H 267) of a world-wide Russian organization called the NTS (in English usually called either the National Alliance of Solidarists or the National Toilers' Alliance), a semi-covert organization working closely with revanchiste elements in West Germany, with the APACL and KMT in Taiwan, and at one time (until the pro-Ukrainian ABN drove them out) with the Latin-American CIADC and their proposed World Anti-Communist Conference for Freedom and Liberation.[1]

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[1]Congreso Continental Anticomunista, III(1957), Memoria.

Although there is little recent research on the NTS,[1] they are known to have been founded in 1930 by a group of emigres, nearly all engineers, in Belgrade. (Many of the Russians who came to Texas after World War II had lived in Serbia (9 H 5), including Voshinin Himself, an engineer (9 H 427)). During the war many of the NTS collaborated with the Nazis and particularly the Nazi Leibbrandt in Rosenberg's Ostministerium, who accepted the Solidarists because of "their ideological proximity to fascism."[2] As such they ran a "training camp" for the Nazis at Wustrau, and later supplied the "right" wing of the Russian forces grouped briefly by Himmler under the turncoat Russian General Vlassov.[3]

After the war the NTS, unlike the other Vlassovites (now called the SBONR), finally refused an American invitation to participate in the activities of the American Committee for the Liberation of the Peoples of Russia; as under the Nazis, the Great Russian and neo-Slavophil Solidarists refused to have anything to do with any policy which encouraged

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[1]U.S. Department of State, External Research Paper (ser. 3, no. 76), NTS -- The Russian Solidarist Movement (Washington, 1951). See also Ukrainian Bulletin, Dec. 1-15, 1957, pp. 1-8; Robert Shaplen, "They're Sticking Stalin With a Pitchfork," Colliers (Feb. 23, 1952), pp. 13ss.

[2]Alexander Dallin, German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945 (London: MacMillan, 1957), 526 and passim.

[3]Ibid. p. 556.

the hopes of Ukrainians and other minorities for ultimate independence.[1]

Yet the NTS continued, despite its illiberal ideology, to have a good press in the United States;[2] in particular its elitist strategy -- that one should appeal not to dissident minorities like the Ukrainians but rather to the cadres of the Russian army and bureaucracy -- was echoed, not only in Taiwan where the same strategy has been advocated for China, but also among highly-placed American "liberation" experts. One such expert, who criticized the presence of separatists in the U.S.-sponsored Radio Liberation in Munich, was Isaac Don Levine.[3]

Of particular interest to the story of Marina Oswald are the repeated stories that the NTS have succeeded in planting agents inside the Soviet Union, particularly in the Army, a fact which may or may not have something to do with

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[1] NIT, Jun. 24, 1952, p. 14; James P. O'Donnell, "These Russians Are on Our Side," Saturday Evening Post (June 6, 1953), p. 122.

[2] U.S. News and World Report, June 1, 1956, p. 74.

[3] Isaac Don Levine, "A Weapon for the West," Life (Mar. 23, 1953), p. 91: "By occasional remarks by congressmen and U.S. government officials in support of the elements advocating the breaking up of the Soviet Union...we have all too often unwittingly furnished fuel to the Soviet propaganda machine....fear that the Western powers are interested not in liberating the Russian people but in dividing up their country has forced many a subject of the Kremlin to subordinate his hatred of despotism to national pride and patriotism....Red soldiers share these attitudes with civilians but the West has never recognized them -- or, at least has not acted on them."; cf. James O'Donnell, Saturday Evening Post (June 6, 1953), p. 124, quoting Gregori Klimov to the effect that we should appeal to the Soviet army, and not offend them by raising the nationalities issue.

In 1952 Kerensky had taken umbrage at a Levine interview which, he claimed, gave the Ukrainians ammunition in their case [illegible] NYT Jan. 20, 1952, p. 24.

the known penetration of Soviet Army Intelligence (the GRU) by the CIA.[1] The NTS, along with its Ukrainian enemies in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, also collaborated closely with the efforts of the APACL in Taipeh (where the NTS maintains permanent representation) to establish the proposed World Anti-Communist Conference for Freedom and Liberation, until the NTS was excluded by a coalition between Catholic Ukrainians and anti-Communists from Latin America. During the Hungarian uprising of 1956, for example, the APACL's message of support was transmitted to Hungary via the services of the NTS Radio Free Russia. This makes it likely that the NTS was also in contact in Texas with the allies of the APACL and through them with the John Birch Society and the supporters of General Walker.[2]

Neither Voshinin nor his friend Ilya Mamantov was asked whether he belonged to the NTS. Mamantov spontaneously denied being a member of the John Birch Society (9 H 125), even before de Mohrenschildt had suggested that he was, while singling out him, rather than Voshinin, as the one "excessive rightist" of the Russian community (9 H 219). He was however a geologist with the Sun Oil Company, whose owners the Pew

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[1] U.S. News and World Report, June 1, 1956, p. 74: "Dr. Vladimir Poremsky...heads a network with agents in every nook and cranny of the Soviet World," cf. p. 80, 9 H 247, John F. O'Conor, Cold War and Liberation (New York: Vantage, 1961), p. 470. See also NIT, Sept. 29, 1964, p. 8, for a recent CIA penetration of GRU.

[2] Jack Nichols Payton, a friend and campaign-organizer of General Walker, described himself in Commission Exhibit 2094 (24 H 528) as a member of both the John Birch Society and the Austin Anti-Communist League.

family have in the last few years given well over a million dollars to right-wing organizations such as the Christian Freedom Foundation.[1]

The "excessive rightist" Mamantov, who never met Oswald, was however the one Russian who personally knew the alleged "liberal" Ruth Paine (9 H 107), apart from his mother-in-law who was her tutor. And it was Mamantov who was the first Russian to renew the community's contact with Marina, some five hours after the assassination (9 H 106). He had been called by telephone to serve as interpreter at the first questioning of Marina, in the presence of their mutual friend Ruth Paine. It was not however Ruth Paine who had first contacted him to interpret, but "Mr. Jack Chrichton, C-h-r-i-c-h-t-o-n," a petroleum operator "connected with the Army Reserve, Intelligence Service" (9 H 106).

The Commission did not pursue the question of why Mr. "Chrichton" or Army Intelligence should have been involved in the Oswald affair. If they had, they would have learned that until 1962 Mr. Crichton (sic) was also a Vice-President of the Empire Trust Company, a firm whose leading shareholders, the inter-related families of Loeb, Lehman and Bronfman, are said by Stephen Birmingham to have maintained "something very like a private CIA...around the world," to protect their

[1] Forster and Epstein, p. 267 and passim.

other investments such as in Cuba, in Guatemala, and in General Dynamics.[1]

We shall soon see that Mr. Birmingham's allusion to the Loeb-Lehman-Bronfman "private CIA" is corroborated by the mysterious intervention of Jack Crichton in the Oswald case; and that the proper choice of Marina's "interpreter" was crucial to the development of the case against her husband. Mr. Crichton's example also shows that such a "private CIA" (of which there are many in the world of high finance) does not compete against existing intelligence and law enforcement agencies, but infiltrates and works within them. Thus Crichton was simultaneously an Army Reserve Intelligence officer and an employee of Empire Trust, one of whose directors was Bouhe's and Ford's employer, Lewis W. MacNaughton. (Crichton himself had been a Vice-President of DeGolyer and MacNaughton, from 1946 to 1950). Crichton moreover had not only intelligence but political connections: in 1964, still an army reserve intelligence officer, he ran unsuccessfully against John Connally as Republican candidate for Governor of Texas.

[1] Stephen Birmingham, Our Crowd (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 378.. W. Palmer Dixon, a partner of Loeb Rhoades, had been for years a director of General Dynamics, of the International Railways of Central America, and of U.S. Life Insurance, a firm involved in the private intelligence network of Tommy Corcoran and his law partner W.S. Youngman.

There is an Army Intelligence Reserve Office under the Army's Director of Combat Intelligence (along with the Special Warfare Branch): cf. H. H. Ransom, The Intelligence Establishment (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard, 1970), p. 112.

We can only understand the importance of Ilya Mamantov's interview with Marina in the light of Marina's second interview two days later, for which we have a transcript. But first we must see how and where that interview came to be held, and the "accident" by which Marina had already spent an entire day with her second "interpreter", who was none other than the same Peter Gregory who was the first Russian to meet Oswald, yet had not seen him since October 1962 (2 H 343).

Gregory's account of how he accidently came to spend that day with Marina is closely corroborated by that of Mrs. Marguerite Oswald. Nonetheless I cannot believe it. According to their testimony, on November 12, ten days before the assassination, Marguerite Oswald, who had not seen her son for fourteen months, began a course of instruction in Russian with several other women at the Fort Worth Public Library, in response to a newspaper advertisement (1 H 155, 2 H 344). The instructor turned out to be Peter Gregory, who knew her sons Lee and Robert; yet neither Marguerite Oswald nor Peter Gregory was aware of the other's connection to Lee until two days after the assassination.

At 6:30 a.m. Sunday morning, November 24, Mrs. Oswald decided she had to escape with Marina from the pressure of reporters in Dallas. She therefore phoned, not her son

Robert, but her Russian instructor whose classes she had attended exactly twice with several other women (1 H 156; 2 H 344). Thereupon Mr. Gregory, at 7:00 a.m. on a Sunday morning, phoned Secret Service Agent Mike Howard at his home: the two men collected Robert Oswald and then spent the entire day in a series of complicated and implausible movements with Marguerite and Marina Oswald. According to their accounts, Marguerite phoned Gregory not knowing of his contact with the Secret Service. It was thus entirely by accident that she phoned the man who had already been contacted by the Secret Service the day before to act as Marina's interpreter (2 H 344). It was also an accident that she and Marina spent all of Sunday with Gregory and Mike Howard, the agent who had spent Saturday with Robert Oswald, and who, according to Robert's diary, had telephoned him on Saturday night to learn where Marina and Marguerite were hidden (CE 323, 16 H902).[1]

The alternative to this long series of improbable coincidences is precisely what we established at the outset an

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[1] Robert's claim in his diary is indirectly refuted under oath by Gregory, who testified that the Secret Service had already told him Saturday where the two were hidden (2 H 344). It goes without saying that the Commission did not explore this discrepancy.

the alternative to the theory of Oswald as the lone assassin: namely, that Oswald's family and acquaintances were involved with members of U.S. intelligence agencies in a post-assassination conspiracy to present false evidence against his memory. The case for such a conspiracy will be strengthened when we examine Mr. Gregory's conduct.

If we choose to reject the "coincidence" account of what transpired on Sunday, we need no longer believe that Marguerite Oswald initiated the contact with Howard, whom she did not know, just as Howard was seeking contact with her and Marina. Much more important, we need no longer believe that it was by her impulse that these two disinterested men, Howard and Gregory, were able to make the decision to lodge the Oswald women in an Arlington motel, the Inn of the Six Flags (1 H 164, 1 H 471-72, 2 H 345). This decision was a momentous one, for the motel manager there, James Herbert Martin, soon became Marina's business agent and lodged her in his home (CE 276, 16 H 770; 1 H 473-75). It was Martin who negotiated the sale to the world press of the dubious photograph of Oswald posing with a rifle and a Trotskyite newspaper, and also did business with Isaac Don Levine (2 H 23-26). Martin had formerly been assistant manager of the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Dallas, another part of the Loeb Rhoades-Henry Crown-General Dynamics empire.[1] As manager of the Inn of the Six

Flags, he was now an employee of the Great Southwest Corporation, a major Loeb Rhoades land speculation about which we shall have much more to say. We shall see in particular that some members of the law firm Wynne Jaffe and Tinsley, counsel for the Great Southwest Corporation and also for George de Mohrenschildt, were Washington oil lobbyists named in connection with the Bobby Baker scandals, while others developed even closer links with Marina after she had left the Martin home and fired Martin as her manager.

What remains undisputed is that, before he served as interpreter, Gregory and his friend Mike Howard of the Secret Service, whether accidentally or by conspiracy, had already spent the entire day of Sunday November 24 with Gregory's old acquaintance Marina, along with another Secret Service agent, Charles Kunkel. (The Commission apparently never bothered to establish whether or not this was the Kunkel whose last name and telephone numbers were found among Jack Ruby's possessions: CE 1322, 22 H 502). That night, at the Inn of the Six Flags, Gregory acted as interpreter at an interview whose transcript was not printed by the Commission but has since been published.[1] The tape of the Kunkel-Howard-Gregory interview was transcribed shortly afterwards by

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[1] David Lifton (ed.) Document Addendum to the Warren Report (El Segundo, Calif.: Sightext Publications, 1968), pp. 290-335 (part of Commission Document 344).

another interpreter who noticed certain discrepancies introduced by Gregory; and this information was in the hands of the Washington Secret Service by December 1. Yet when the Commission examined Gregory on March 13, 1964, no questions were asked about exchanges such as the following:

(Q) Did Lee obtain a job in Fort Worth? What kind of work did he do?

NOTE: In her answer to Mr. Gregory, she /Marina/ said that he was working as a carpenter and "you remember". In answer to Agent, Mr. Gregory said: "She said that at first he worked as an ordinary sheet metal worker." (p. 302)

(Q) Who were these Russian friends?

(A) Mr. Gregory is one of them.

NOTE: Before mentioning Gregory's name, subject spoke another name which is not understandable and Gregory did not translate. (p. 306)

Agent asked Mr. Gregory: Do you know Mr. Morenshield (sic)?

Mr. Gregory: Yes.

(A) NOTE: Subject said same name which was not understandable before and still is not.

Anna Miller /i.e. Meller/, George Buffet (phonetic) /i.e. Bouhe/. (Gregory said - another friend of mine.) (pp. 306-07) [1]

[1] The first Russians mentioned by Marina in her next substantive interview of November 28 were the Gregorys, Georgs Bouhe, Anna Meller, and Mr.and Mrs.Clark (CE 1792, 23 H 406-07). To the Commission she listed Gregory, Mrs. Clark, Elena Hall, Bouhe, and Anna Meller (1 H 7). The first four names (Meller, Bouhe, de Mohrenschildt, Clark) supplied by Alexander Kleinlerer, another member of the group, also suggest that the missing name, which may or may not have been deliberately erased from the tape, may have been Gregory's friend Max Clark, the former security officer of General Dynamics (11 H 119).

(Q) This gun, was it a rifle or a pistol or just what type of gun? Can she answer that?

(A) It was a gun.

Mr. Gregory asked: Can you describe it?

NOTE: Subject said: I cannot describe it because a rifle to me like all rifles.

Gregory translation: She said she cannot describe it. It was sort of a dark rifle just like any other common rifle (p. 312).

(Q) Can you describe this rifle that you saw?

(A) Mr. Gregory in Russian: Same size as they are showing to you?

Subject: I think so, but,

Gregory translation: She says that a rifle approximately the same length as you are showing her; however, the stock was longer.

Subject in Russian: It was a hump (or elevation) but I never saw through the telescope, but it was the same kind of hump (or elevation).

Gregory translation: She says there was an elevation on the rifle but there was no scope - no telescope.

(Q) Would you recognize a rifle scope if you saw one?

(A) Yes. She says that now she knows the difference between a rifle with a scope and one without a scope. She says until she saw the rifle with a scope on TV the other day she did not know that rifles with scopes existed. (p. 313)

The Report, which had to rely on Marina's subsequent identification of the Mannlicher-Carcano (R128), followed Gregory

in suppressing the information that one rifle to her was "like all rifles" (cf. 9 H 117: "to her all guns are the same"). It also suppressed the testimony (which on Sunday originated with Gregory rather than Marina) that she had never seen the Carcano with a scope on it. This short-lived story is consistent with the testimony by Dial Ryder of Irving (11 H 224-31) that between November 1-15, 1963, he wrote out a repair ticket in his gunshop to an "Oswald" for the mounting of a telescopic sight on an Italian rifle, a report which in turn is corroborated by further independent testimony that an "Oswald" at that time was looking for a gunshop in the district (R315-18).[1] The Report rejected the relevance of this testimony, which, as it pointed out, could not refer to the Carcano: the Carcano was not then in Oswald's possession and already had a sight mounted when Oswald bought it (R119); if relevant "the repair tag would mean that Oswald owned another rifle" (R315).

The Gregory-inspired testimony that "there was no scope" on the gun Marina saw is of course incompatible with the

[1] All other Oswalds in the Dallas area were questioned about this incident: none of them was the "Oswald" involved. I have put quotations around Oswald's name because of the possibility, raised by Richard Popkin in his book The Second Oswald, that another person took these and many other steps in Oswald's name. Whatever the true facts, the Commission's rejection of the "Oswald" repair ticket for mounting a scope on an Italian gun only increased the grounds for suspecting that false evidence about Oswald was being planted in the Dallas area.

Report's findings (R119). It is also contradicted by Marina's ready identification of the scope for the Warren Commission (1 H 119), as well as Mrs. de Mohrenschildt's testimony, which the Report accepted, that Marina showed her "a rifle with a scope in a closet" (R282, 9 H 316).[1] Marina's next statement through Gregory ("she did not know that rifles with scopes existed") suggests that Marina, who already understood English well enough to follow conversations and make friends,[2] was willing freely to alter her testimony of a moment before ("I never saw through the telescope") in accordance with the change introduced by Gregory in his "translation" of it (there was no scope"). Gregory, in other words, was not only Marina's interpreter of this interview, but also her coach.

This indication of a conspiracy between Marina and Gregory should have made the Commission curious about all of Gregory's suppressions and gratuitous additions, even the apparently innocuous interpolation that the rifle was "dark" (p. 312). The darkness of the Carcano's stock (testified to by other witnesses such as Detective Weitzman, 7 H 109)

[1] This story is itself incompatible with Marina's story that on April 13, the night of the de Mohrenschildt visit (R282), the rifle was supposedly buried near a railway track (CE 1403, 22 H 777).

[2] For example with Mrs. Marguerite Oswald the night of the assassination. On January 29, 1964, the FBI conducted an entire interview with Marina in English without an interpreter (CE 1155, 22 H 194), suggesting that Marina's alleged incompetence in English may have been greatly exaggerated.

was in fact one of only two details about the rifle allegedly mentioned by Marina in her interview with the Dallas police two days earlier, when the interpreter was Ilya Mamantov (9 H 111, 116, 117). The second detail was the fact (in contradiction to the Report but in agreement with Gregory) that she "never have seen gun" with a telescopic sight. (9 H 116-17). On Saturday Marina was interviewed a second time through Ruth Paine and Ilya Mamantov; this time by the FBI. As on Friday and Sunday, she was reported to have again said that the rifle "was a dark color like the one she had seen, but she did not recall the sight" (CE 1778, 23 H 384).

It would appear that on Friday the Dallas policy had repeatedly questioned Marina through Mamantov about the gun's "dark brown-black" color (a phrase which Mamantov repeats four times in his testimony to the Commission); for Marina's recognition of this color was the only evidence that she had recognized the rifle when she partially unrolled a blanket in the Paine's garage. How then on Sunday could Mr. Gregory have added this small but allegedly important detail lacking in Marina's testimony, unless someone had already told him about it? There are other indications of illicit links between Gregory and the FBI's "investigation" of Oswald; for example Gregory's affidavit certifying to Oswald's fluency in Russian, which he had signed on personalized stationery

(1 H 400), had apparently been trimmed of its signature and letterhead between its receipt by the FBI (24 H 342) and its receipt by the Commission (CE 384, 16 H 976).

Without suggesting that any role in the assassination was played by the Dallas-Fort Worth Russian community as a whole or in part, it is clear that some of its members played a dominant role in defining the alleged links between it and the Oswald family. This was true both before the assassination, when they determined the Oswalds' social contacts, and after it, when they controlled and altered the "information" supplied about Lee by Marina.

That Mamantov and Gregory were put in this position to exercise such control is inexcusable, even assuming that Oswald was an agent. Lee (alias Leon) Gopadze, a Russian-speaking member of the Secret Service was in Dallas and available on the day of the assassination, yet he was not used (CE 1793, 23 H 410); his first unproductive interview with Marina as translator for the FBI was not until November 27 (CE 1792, 23 H 406). The next day, six days after the assassination, Marina finally told Mr. Gopadze the story which is the central argument of the Warren Report. Contradicting her testimony of three earlier interviews (9 H 316, 23 H 384, Addendum, p. 312), she now said she could recognize the rifle without question (CE 1792, 23 H 408-09) and further

admitted taking the famous picture of Oswald with the rifle, including the scope which she had allegedly never seen. But Marina refused to give this testimony until two regular FBI agents had withdrawn, leaving only Gopadze and on other person -- the indispensable Mr. Peter Gregory. Mr. Gregory's performance in the Sunday interview was already known to the Secret Service and to Lee Gopadze in particular (23 H 405). There was thus no justification for Mr. Gregory's presence with Gopadze on November 28; and there was still less excuse for his presence, along with the same Leon Gopadze, to translate for Marina on September 6, 1964, before the Warren Commission itself (5 H 588).[1]

Marina's business relationship with James Martin, though highly profitable to both, was soon abruptly terminated, but not her connections with the Wynne sphere of influence. By February 27, 1964, James Herbert Martin was able to tell the Warren Commission that he had brought in $132,350 for Marina in advances for her stories alone (1 H 492, 496). But by this time his top commodity, the photograph of Oswald with the rifle and the Militant, was becoming an embarrassment. Just as Marina (and other witnesses) had offered conflicting

[1] Though the translator is called "Peter P. Gregory" in the text, a contradictory "note" only four lines lower down refers to him as "Paul D. Gregory," -- possibly a reference to Peter Gregory's son Paul Roderick Gregory. The reporter who transcribed this intimate five-hour session was the reporter to Judge Sarah Hughes, the aforementioned trustee of a CIA-linked foundation who on November 22 swore in Lyndon Johnson (5 H 589).

testimony as to whether or not the rifle had possessed a scope, so now the photograph appeared on the cover of Life Magazine with a scope (February 21, 1964; 21 H 443, 454) and in the New York Times without one (February 19, 1964; p.30; 21 H 447, 458-60). Mark Lane's testimony before the Commission that the photos were "doctored and forged" (2 H 34) was later essentially confirmed by an FBI photography expert, Lyndal L. Shaneyfelt (7 H 410-18; id. 11 H 455). But on February 24 Robert Oswald lent new credibility to the disputed photograph. He came forward with an Imperial camera of his brother's which he had not turned over earlier because "it had never occurred to him that anyone would be interested" (CE 2466, 25 H 639).[1] The police at that time had however seized and inventoried items such as "one small paint brush, two metal clips, one box of Gem clips, one bottle opener" and four other cameras; CE 2003, pp. 336, 343, and passim). The Imperial camera, the FBI later determined, had taken just two sets of photographs out of the many dozens of Oswald's photographs in evidence: the incriminating photographs of Oswald with a rifle and revolver, and the incriminating photographs of the back of the

[1] Later an Irving policeman testified that he had seen the camera in the Paine garage when Oswald's effects were seized. He "did not take the camera since he did not consider it to be of evidentiary value" (CE 2557, 25 H 792). Nor did he inventory it.

home of General Walker. As Sylvia Meagher observes,

> It is impossible to understand why Oswald should have caused these damning photographs to be made, using a camera which was utilized only for incriminating pictures but never for conventional photography, or why he should have left this evidence to be found and used against him when it easily could have been destroyed.[1]

Lee Harvey Oswald himself told the Dallas police that "this [rifle] picture was not his" but a composite with his face superposed (R 608); discrepancies in the shadows and proportions of the photography have suggested to many that this is indeed the case.[2] And whereas a Dallas police enlargement of the photograph showed the paper clasp in the Militant (CE 139; 16 H 510), other comparable enlargements showed absolutely no markings whatsoever (Shaneyfelt Exhibits 14 and 18; 21 H 455, 459).

On February 17, 1964, the day the Oswald rifle photo first appeared, Robert Oswald secured a new lawyer, William A. McKenzie, to represent himself and Marina before the Commission (CE 272-73, 16 H 762-65). McKenzie was granted full powers to transmit to the FBI all evidence "uncovered" by Robert and Marina, who promptly underwent a new round of FBI interviews and came up with new information. McKenzie and the Ford family promptly terminated the two-months-old business contracts between Marina, Martin and Thorne (16 H 770-82). By now the Secret Service had dropped out of the picture; henceforth only one agency, the FBI, would be responsible for reconciling Marina's many different stories.

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[1] Accessories After the Fact, p. 209; cf. pp. 200-08, where other facts discrediting the rifle photograph are assembled.

[2] Meagher, pp. 207-08.

The surface appearance was that Marina had changed agents and lawyers with James Martin publicly attacking the new lawyer William McKenzie.[1] But if the manager of the Inn of Six Flags had departed the scene, the influence of his former employers continued to oversee and indeed to coach Marina's testimony. William A. McKenzie, it is true, was not at this time directly connected to the Great Southwest Corp., the Loeb Rhoades syndicate which owned the Inn of the Six Flags; but he had been a member of its law firm, Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley, until about the end of 1962.

In Marina's new round of FBI interviews (according to her interpreter Mrs. Katya Skotnicki Ford), McKenzie apparently played the same role of coach to Marina as had Gregory at an earlier time. Just before an FBI interview, McKenzie took Marina with Mrs. Ford into one of his office rooms, and told her what to say about Oswald's alleged shooting of General Walker: "He advised her 'They will ask you if there were two guns, you tell them there was one gun that was used', he told her" (2 H 321). The FBI records that on February 22 Marina was interviewed in McKenzie's office ("McKenzie was not present") and that "Marina said to her knowledge Oswald had only one rifle" (CE 1404, 22 H 785). She added further small details in which she "had been mistaken" about the rifle.

This testimony, as we have seen, was crucial; the Walker bullet, readily identified in April 1963 as a "30-.06",

[1] NYT, February 27, 1964, p. 34

a size to fit a 7.65mm Mauser, had somehow shrunk over the months until it was now the calibre of a 6.5mm Mannlicher-Carcano. And Oswald's gun, at first identified as a Mauser, was now officially established to be a Carcano. (Commission Exhibit 573, the "shrinking bullet" is one of the best pieces of physical evidence pointing to a conspiracy. Quite by accident Mrs. Ford had now offered the Commission a further clue about this conspiracy, a clue they had not asked for. Once again the Commission, predictably, changed the subject.

Besides providing Marina Oswald with a hideaway and business manager and later with an attorney, Great Southwest Corp. and its lawyers, Wynne, Jaffe, & Tinsley, are to be found lurking behind yet a third phase of Marina's testimony. This is her claim, which even the Warren Report finds to be of "no probative value", that she once forcefully prevented Oswald from going out to shoot Richard Nixon (R188-89). Three versions of Marina's Nixon story reached the Commission, each more absurd than the last. ~~In January~~ Robert Oswald allegedly heard in January from Marina and her manager James Martin (of the Great Southwest Corp.) that "MARINA had locked LEE HARVEI OSWALD in the bathroom the entire day" (CE 1357, 22 H 596; cf. 1 H 482).[1] For some reason Robert Oswald did

[1] It is possible that Martin did not hear this from Marina directly. On February 27 he told the Commission that Marina told him Oswald "got dressed with a suit, I believe she said, and she locked him in the bathroom and kept him there all day, they said" (1 H 482; emphasis added). The last two words, which look like a Freudian slip, do not square with Robert Oswald's and Martin's official story: it appears that, once again, "interpreters" may have been involved.

not communicate this information to the FBI until February 19; two days after McKenzie became his attorney (26 H 272) and gave the Nixon story to the FBI himself (26 H 336). On February 19 (as Robert Oswald ~~he did so, the FBI responded promptly. On the same day the~~ and his new lawyer left for Washington and the Warren Commission) the FBI obtained apparent confirmation from an apparently unrelated source:

> MAURICE CARLSON, President, Reliance Life and Accident Insurance Company, and a close friend of RICHARD NIXON, advised that NIXON was invited to Dallas in April 1963 to the South and East Chamber of Commerce to receive the Good American award. At the last minute NIXON was unable to attend and cancelled his trip....Mr. Carlson advised that he is certain RICHARD NIXON was in Dallas, Texas, on November 21, 1963, having arrived by private plane with the President of the Pepsi Cola Company (CE 1795, 23 H 414).

Nine days later, on February 28, Nixon himself told the FBI in New York that he "vaguely thought there was some invitation extended during the early part of 1963, probably in April, for him to come to Dallas, but that it never materialized" (CE 1973, 23 H 831, emphasis added).

As we shall see later, Mr. Nixon, the American politician with perhaps the longest and closest links to the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, was apparently in Dallas on November 21 to negotiate an important land deal between Pepsi-Cola (which also had important Taiwan connections) and the Great Southwest Corp. It is lucky that Mr. Nixon was vague in corroborating the Carlson story, for on February 25 his friend Mr. Carlson had already withdrawn it ("Since refreshing his memory, he remembered it was Senator BARRY GOLDWATER and not NIXON",

CE 1795, 23 H 416). Marina's story was falling apart on other grounds. On February 24, after it was known that her bathroom door (like all others) locked from the inside and not the outside, she now claimed to have held the much stronger Oswald inside by "holding on the the knob and bracing her feet against the wall" (CE 1833, 23 H 511). (Later she would tell the Commission under oath that she and Lee "struggled for several minutes" inside the bathroom, R 188, 5 H 389-90). Worse still, a search of newspaper files on February 25 revealed that there had been no published story about Nixon's visit to trigger Oswald's decision to shoot him, as Marina had indicated (CE 1795, 23 H 415).

It is highly possible that these developments influenced Mr. Carlson's recantation of his own story. Although there is nothing in the Commission volumes to indicate this, the Secretary of his insurance company, Reliance Life and Accident, was Henry Baer, who as law partner of William McKenzie now attended the interviews between Marina Oswald and the FBI.[1] Both McKenzie and Baer were former members of the firm McKenzie, Strong, Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley, which for years had maintained its

[1] Although the FBI memorandum of the 15 February 24 interview has not been reprinted, the FBI memorandum of a February 24 interview with Marina shows Henry Baer in attendance (CE 1832, 23 H 511).

office at 505 N. Ervay Street, in the Reliance Life and Accident office building (the company's major asset). Bedford Wynne of the law firm (whose links to Bobby Baker will be described later) was a director of Reliance Life in 1963, as his brother Angus Wynne of the Great Southwest Corp. had been before him.

The same building, interestingly, also housed the Dallas office of the Secret Service, under Special Agent in Charge Forest Sorrels (CE 2081, 24 H 515). And two directors of Reliance Life, John Plath Green and Lewis Lefkowitz, were the former law partners of H. Barefoot Sanders, the U.S. Attorney for North Texas in whose office (and presence) key witnesses were interrogated by the Warren Commission staff. The senior partner of this law firm, R.G. Storey, a former colonel in Army Intelligence, became the Texas Attorney General's representative at some of the Warren Commission interrogations (5 H 181, 260). (Another partner, Hugh L. Steger, was for five years an agent of the FBI.) Storey also spent most of Saturday, November 23, 1963, with District Attorney Henry Wade, former FBI agent and former roommate of John Connally who indicted Oswald (5 H 239, 215).

Although Reliance Life and Accident in 1963 was a small company, its board was a politically high-powered one, suggesting close links not only to Richard Nixon but also to Lyndon Johnson. More immediately, as the accompanying chart will illustrate, the directors were drawn from banks allied with Wynne interests (Wynnewood State Bank), the

Murchisons (First National Bank in Dallas) and Troy Post's Greatamerica Corp., a miracle growth stock of the Johnson era in the White House, in which Lyndon Johnson's personal company, the former LBJ Co., is said to have had a stock interest. James H. Bond, the Chairman of Reliance Life, was also Chairman of Electro-Science Investors, a Troy Post-James Ling growth stock into which James Ling bought heavily (and profitably) one month before the Kennedy assassination. Bond, the Regional Director of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, joined Ling and Post in 1965 as a director of Ling-Temco-Vought, another miracle growth stock in the Johnson era. Here too, Ling and his partner D. H. Byrd made a prescient investment through the month of November 1963, buying 132,600 shares for some $2 million, which were worth some $26 million by 1967. The anomaly of this investment, at a time when aerospace issues generally were declining, is revealed by Chart B, in which we see that the Ling-Byrd purchase was about 100 times that of any other inside purchase in aerospace issues during this period.

Reliance Life and Accident also participated in the post-1963 Texas growth miracle of such related stocks as Ling-Temco-Vought, Greatamerica Corp., and Greatamerica's subsidiary, Braniff Airways. With only $6.5 million insurance in force in 1963, Reliance began to issue group

insurance in 1964; and, under new ownership, had over $20 million in force by 1966. The Chairman of Reliance's new board, Frank Heller (who also joined Electro-Science Investors), remained with Angus Wynne on the Board of the Wynnewood State Bank, even though this bank had also changed hands and was now controlled by a group from the Dorchester Gas Producing Corp.

When we now turn our attention to the Dorchester Gas Producing Corporation, it becomes hard to believe that these profitable stock growths and changes were unrelated to the assassination. For one of the directors of Dorchester Gas was D. H. Byrd, who joined with Bond's fellow-director James Ling in the inspired inside purchase of L-T-V before the assassination. Another was Irving Koerner of Charles Allen and Co., a specialist in Allen-Murchison natural gas investments, who once had fronted for a liquor distribution tax-evasion conspiracy said to have run into millions of dollars.[1] A third was Jack Crichton of Army Reserve Intelligence Service, the apparent outsider who arranged for Marina Oswald to have the "excessive rightist" Ilya Mamantov as her interpreter. A fourth was Talbot Rain, a member of the company's legal firm, Thompson, Wright, Knight, and Simmons. ~~Perhaps some future Warren Commission will determine why.~~ While waiting to be sworn in as President in Dallas, Johnson attempted to speak

[1] Hank Messick, Secret File (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), pp. 187-88.

~~Kennedy~~ on the phone with his "business crony" J.W. Bullion, a member of this same law firm who soon became trustee for the former LBJ Co., Johnson spoke also at this time with Abe Fortas, the General Counsel (and director) of Troy Post's Greatamerica Corp.[1]

But while the business associates of Wynne Jaffe and Tinsley were to profit from the assassination, the firm itself had a major stake in stopping the Bobby Baker investigation. As a lawyer for the Murchison interests, the firm's senior partner, Bedford S. Wynne, was being investigated by the Treasury under ~~under~~ investigation concerning a $2,500 kickback from a Murchison company (Sweet Water Development Corp.) to Bobby Baker.[2] (Before a Congressional Committee, Wynne had admitted seeing Bobby Baker in Dallas and also in Las Vegas.)[3] Senator Curtis of Nebraska (a Republican) later suggested that Wynne's kickback to Baker was a hidden pay-off by the Murchisons for Baker's zealous defense of the 27½% oil depletion allowance, the most important single factor in the financing of American party politics.

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[1] Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 607, 626.

[2] U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee on Rules, Construction of the District of Columbia Stadium, and Matters Related Thereto, Hearings, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 862; (Henceforth cited as Baker Hearings) Bedford Wynne was also a director of Pasantic Corp., as was Bobby Baker, though not necessarily at the same time (pp. 881,883).

[3] Baker Hearings, p. 883. cf p. 963

Sweet Water Development had been incorporated soon after John F. Kennedy's inauguration by Bedford Wynne and other members of his law firm -- the same firm which later was counsel for the Great Southwest Corp. in Arlington, the owners of Marina Oswald's hideaway, the Inn of the Six Flags. Although Sweet Water was ostensibly organized to receive R and D contracts under the new administrations program for the desalinization of water, it soon showed considerable versatility in using government funds to make payoffs, not only to Baker but to members of Congress. For example the $2,500 payoff to Baker's law firm of Baker and Tucker was only a 25 percent kickback on a larger fee of $10,000 for "legal services", charged to the government by Sweet Water in connection with storage tanks for helium. The principal beneficiary, receiving $7,500, was the law firm of Emmanuel Celler, the Chairman of the important House Judiciary Committee. The investigation into Bobby Baker's wheelings and dealings, as it touched more than once on Sweet Water-Murchison employees such as Wynne, Thomas Webb, and Robert F. Thompson, promised to reveal much about the illicit corruption of government by Texas oil interests. (One key witness, Don Reynolds, "was in the midst of detailing his connection with Bobby Baker and Lyndon Johnson when word was brought in that Kennedy had been shot.")[1]

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[1] Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, p. 602.

To put it bluntly, Bedford Wynne was a key pay-off man for the domestic oil lobby, associated in this cause with [illegible] and with Lyndon Johnson's old friend Robert B. Anderson. For example, after Kennedy made noises in late 1962 about cutting the oil depletion allowance

> it was oil millionaire Clint Murchison's associate Bedford Wynn[e?], who offered to stage a $1,000-a-plate Democratic dinner in January, 1963. The dinner raised $500,000, largely from oil men, to pay off the whopping 1960 Democratic debt. Shortly after the dinner, Clint Murchison's son, John, paid a private 90-minute call on the President... and assured fellow oil men they had nothing to worry about.[1]

And Wynne and Anderson, two top representatives of the oil lobby in politics, both had intimate links to Marina's hostelry, the Inn of the Six Flags.

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[1]Jack Anderson, pp. 212-13. The January 1963 issue of World Petroleum (p. 4) spoke of "intimations" that the President's tax reform package would "shoot at oil's depletion", but noted that the President personally "has yet to speak out on oil's depletion allowance." One month later (Feb. 1963, p. 4) it noted "the chance of the first full scale assault on the 27.5% income tax depletion allowance since 1949", if the President were to include the oil depletion allowance in his tax return package of late January. The next issue (Mar. 1963, p. 4) expected an "airing" in Congress of the President's complicated proposals, "but that is about all that may happen this year." (It anticipated the Kennedy reforms, if eventually enacted, might cost the oil and gas industry $280 million a year.) The April issue (p. 4) announced: "The threat to oil's income tax depletion allowance becomes less severe as President Kennedy says he's willing to settle for a tax cut, alone, without tax reforms."

The Inn of the Six Flags was the chief building investment to date of the four-year-old Great Southwest Corp., a group of land speculators who had bought up over 6,500 acres around Arlington (between Dallas and Fort Worth) from the W. T. Waggoner family estate. William Zeckendorf's Webb & Knapp (of which Robert B. Anderson, formerly a lawyer for the Waggoner estate, became a director in 1964) had sunk $6 million in this investment, as part of a syndicate hoping to bring about a $300-$500 million industrial development.[1] Webb and Knapp were joined in this venture by Rockefeller Center (who held 171,000 shares worth some $3.5 million) and by the Wall Street firm of Loeb Rhoades, of which Robert B. Anderson had become a limited partner in 1961.

Anderson, who had gone on from managing the Waggoner estate to become Secretary of the Navy and of the Treasury under Eisenhower, thus seems to have been important in this disposition of the Waggoner property in Arlington. It is therefore interesting to learn that this Republican from Loeb Rhoades spent several hours with Lyndon Johnson two days after the assassination,[2] and was once said by Walter Winchell to be "LBJ's No.1 financial adviser".[3] Anderson

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[1]Moody's Bank and Finance Manual, 1963. Zeckendorf was himself a director of Great Southwest at one point.

[2]NYT, December 8, 1963, III, 1.

[3]Robert Sherrill, The Accidental President (New York: Pyramid, 1968), p. 120.

was also a friend of FBI agent John W. Fain, who interviewed Robert Oswald about his brother in April 1960 and "from time to time" thereafter (CE 270, 16 H 751). It was Fain who interviewed Lee for the FBI on Lee's return from Russia to Fort Worth (R 434). Fain was a classmate of Anderson's at Weatherford College, and Anderson secured Fain his first government employment (4 H 404). It was Fain who decided to close the FBI file on Oswald (4 H 424). Anderson also served on the board of Dresser Industries with Lewis MacNaughton, the employer of Marina's guardians George Bouhe and Declan Ford. Later we shall draw attention to the importance in this narrative of October 1962, the month of the Cuban missile crisis. In October 1962 Oswald moved very suddenly from Fort Worth to Dallas (R718), John W. Fain resigned from the FBI (4 H 404) and Declan Ford left the employment of Lewis MacNaughton (2 H 323). About this time Crichton ceased to work for Empire Trust, and McKenzie left the law firm of Bedford Wynne.

The Great Southwest Corporation Board was dominated by the Wynne family, as was Great Southwest's law firm, Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley. The Wynne family and other Great Southwest directors frequently were associated with the powerful Murchison interests: three directors of Great Southwest (Toddie L. Wynne Sr., Toddie L. Wynne, Jr., and O. P. Corley) also served on the boards of two Murchison-

owned companies, the American Liberty Oil Company, and New Orleans East Inc., a Wynne-Murchison land speculation which owned one third ("the wet third") of New Orleans.[1]

Also in the Great Southwest Board was Kenneth W. Davis of the First National Bank of Fort Worth, a bank which interlocked with both the W. T. Waggoner estate and General Dynamics. This bank handled Marguerite Oswald's remittances to her son while he was in Russia (17 H 713). and in December 1963 it became agent for Marina Oswald's trust fund, with James H. Martin as trustee (1 H 289, 16 H 782). Another director was Amon L. Carter, Jr., a leading conservative and Johnson backer since 1948, in whose house Mrs. Marguerite Oswald had worked as a nurse (1 H 137).[2] Marguerite may also have had personal connections with the First National Bank in Fort Worth, of which Mrs. W. T. Waggoner was the fifth largest shareholder in 1964. She once worked in Vernon, Texas, the home of the Waggoner family, and claimed to have supplied the "new wallet" from the Waggoner National Bank (a family-owned bank) which contained

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[1] Baker Hearings, p. 900; cf. p. 794. Webb and Knapp also speculated heavily in Louisiana real estate before its bankruptcy in 1965.

[2] I am moved to record this possibly irrelevant detail solely because the Warren Commission, as on so many significant occasions, has misspelt "Ammon Carter"'s name. For the pro-Johnson political activities of Amon Carter and his father, cf. Alfred Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 145-46, 243.

$180.00 in clean $20 and $10 bills for Marina (CE 1798, 23 H 418).[1]

The registrars for the corporation were the Loeb Rhoades-Lehman Empire Trust Company (Louis MacNaughton and John A. Crichton) and the Continental National Bank in Fort Worth (Fred Korth). George Thompson, Jr., of the Continental National Bank, was also a director: is it then purely a coincidence that Fred Korth (who is also rumored to have seen Johnson right after the assassination) once knew Mrs. Oswald and in addition represented her husband in her last divorce?

[1] Marina said that the wallet came from Oswald's mother Marguerite, who promptly confirmed this, saying that she had been working in Vernon at the time of Oswald's return from Russia. As to the money itself, Marina changed her story. At first she said "the money was the money that Lee Harvey Oswald was saving, but that she did not know where the money came from" (23 H 418). Later she said that they both used the wallet; her husband had saved the money in New Orleans and Dallas; and ten of the dollars were hers from her friend Ruth Paine (CE 1155, 22 H 194-95).

We have already seen enough to conclude that the apparently disparate circles guiding Marina's life and testimony in the weeks after the assassination were in fact closely interwoven around the Great Southwest Corp. and its oil-lobby law firm Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley. We have seen also that these circles embrace persons who cared for the Oswalds before the assassination, and more particularly persons of great political influence whose investments in the weeks before November 22, 1963, were to be made highly profitable by the new administration of Lyndon Johnson. Finally we have seen that these circles included at their periphery men like Bedford Wynne and Fred Korth who were threatened by the snowballing Congressional exposures of the Bobby Baker and TFX scandals.

All of these relationships will seem even more significant when we come to see how these same investment circles, like Jack Ruby, had highly articulated links with the world of organized crime.

IV
WALKER AND THE RADICAL RIGHT

Thesis IV: Almost all Oswald's known political connections after April 1963 in New Orleans and Dallas were with right-wing anti-Castro Cubans and their contacts, many of whom (possibly including an Army Intelligence Officer) were also bitterly hostile to John F. Kennedy.

In April 1963 the Oswalds changed "babysitters". On April 19 the de Mohrenschildts left Dallas and soon afterwards went to Haiti (9 H 317, R283). On April 25 Oswald left by bus for New Orleans, and Marina moved in with her baby for two weeks with Ruth Paine in the Dallas suburb of Irving. On May 10 and 11 Mrs. Paine drove Marina and the baby 500 miles down to New Orleans (R726); four months later, she drove them back again (R730). Marina then stayed with Ruth Paine until the assassination, when Marina abruptly, and permanently, severed relations with her.

The Oswalds had met Ruth Paine, who was separated from her husband but on friendly terms, at a dinner party for Russian-speaking employees of Socony Mobil (and a few others), to which the Oswalds had once again been brought by George de Mohrenschildt. The Socony Mobil employees were being paid to learn scientific Russian from Ilya Mamantov at the Socony Mobil Research Lab in Duncanville; and one of this group, a geologist named Norman Fredricksen, had been hired by Socony Mobil to come to Dallas after studying Russian with the U.S. Army in Heidelberg (9 H 129). A story in the Dallas Morning News (Nov. 24, 1963) suggested that the party was in fact centered around the Oswalds, and that the other guests "chemists and geologists -- were learning Russian so that they might read Russian technical journals". Mrs. Paine herself taught Russian at St. Marks School to one student, a "boy astronomer" who wished "to study Russian scientific papers". The task of keeping abreast of Soviet science and technology is of course an intelligence responsibility, albeit a perfectly legitimate one without "black" overtones, for which an overall co-ordinating responsibility

is assumed by the CIA.

In losing the chauffeuring services of Count George de Mohrenschildt and gaining those of Ruth Paine, the Oswald family had not severed their links with aristocracy: for the Paine family was at least as well-connected in Massachusetts (and even in Texas) as the de Mohrenschildts were in the Baltic. Michael Paine, Ruth's husband, was sixth in descent from Robert Treat Paine the signerof the Declaration of Independence. His mother Ruth Forbes was a great-granddaughter of Emerson and a grandaughter of William Hathaway Forbes, founder and first president of the American Bell Telephone Company. Her father, Ralph Emerson Forbes, left an estate of $2.5 million when he died in 1937.[1] Her uncle, W. Cameron Forbes, a former Ambassador to Japan, had been until his recent demise a director of United Fruit.

Michael Paine also testified, very misleadingly, how a Kathleen Schroeder used to visit his mother when he was a child in Santa Barbara:

> A friend of hers, Kathleen, now she was originally Kathleen Schroeder, a sister of my uncle, now Kathleen Forbes, and a distant cousin of my mother's, and I think my grandfather, grandparents, would come out occasionally (2 H 391).

For some reason Michael concealed the fact that Kathleen

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[1] NYT, Dec. 1, 1937, p. 15. For other genealogical data, compare Frederick A. Virkus, The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy (Chicago: A.N. Marquis, 1925), pp. 529-31; and various years of the Boston Social Register. Michael's great-great-great-uncle, Robert Bennet Forbes, is said by the Dictionary of American Biography to have played "a prominent role in the outbreak of the /Chinese/ Opium War. Robert's mother was a Perkins, of a family who were partners in the "most powerful American house in China."

Schroeder (nee Forbes) was his mother's sister,[1] perhaps because for many years she and her husband, Eric Schroeder, had also resided in the Dallas area. Eric Schroeder, listed in Poor's Directory as an independent in "oil investments", was an associate of Lewis MacNaughton's late partner de Golyer. It was thus worth learning, whether Schroeder had anything to do with his niece's assumption of the Baby-sitting role formerly exercised by MacNaughton's personal accountant, George Bouhe. However, it does not appear that Schroeder was ever interviewed about the Oswalds by any investigative agency - though many of the other Paine relations were.

Michael Paine was descended from the Cabots on both his father's and his mother's side; he was thus a second cousin once removed of Thomas Dudley Cabot, the former President of United Fruit who offered another of his companies, Gilbraltar Steamship, as a "cover" for the CIA during the Bay of Pigs adventure.[2] He was also a cousin of Cabot's partner, Alexander Cochrane Forbes, a director of United Fruit and trustee of Cabot, Cabot and Forbes. Paul F. Hellmuth, vice-president of Cabot, Cabot and Forbes, was a trustee of the J. Frederick Brown Foundation, a CIA "conduit", along with G. C. Cabot.[3] Thus the Paine family had family

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[1] NYT, March 18, 1937, p. 25.

[2] Wise and Ross, The Invisible Government, p. 352.

[3] NYT, Feb 20, 1967, p. 1.

links with the blue-blood intelligence circles of the "Oh So Social" OSS and the CIA, though one would not guess this from their description in the Warren Report.

These links were stronger than contrary appearances might indicate. It is true that Michael Paine hinted ~~vaguely~~ instead to the Commission about his architect-father's off-beat "Stalinist" and "Trotskyite" connections ("the Stalinist, Dubinsky, David Dubinsky," 2 H 390)[1]; but in this period Michael grew up with his divorced mother and saw his father "very infrequently" (2 H 389). It is true also that in the crucial period 1963 Ruth Hyde Paine was separated from her husband Michael, and that it was she, rather than Michael, who had the more intimate links with the Oswald family. But ~~these appearances too are deceptive~~ Ruth Paine was never far from the patrician Forbes family. On the contrary, In the summer of 1963 it was Ruth, rather than Michael, who maintained close relations with the patrician Paine and Forbes families, traveling east in July to stay with her mother-in-law at the traditional Forbes clan retreat of Naushon Island near Wood's Hole, Massachusetts (CE 416, 17 H 119).

Shortly earlier Ruth Paine had already proposed to Marina that she leave Oswald and move in with her; out of Michael's $9,000 per annum salary and $6,000 per annum inheritance, Ruth explained, it would be possible to support Marina and pay her $100 a month (an offer later reduced to $10 a week, 17 H 105-09). After Marina accepted this offer, Ruth's links to Oswald were somewhat marginal, though it was she who arranged for Oswald's historic employment at the Texas School Book Depository in Dealey plaza (R738). By contrast, her zeal in managing Marina's life surpassed even that of Bouhe and de Mohrenschildt. In the words of the Report, "Ruth Paine has stated that she always

[1] By this casual charge the alleged liberal Michael Paine, who went with Oswald to a Dallas ACLU meeting (R738), manages to out-Birch the Birch Society's claim that Dubinsky and J. Lovestone are "admitted Communists but claiming to [illegible] Stalinist [illegible]" (The Politician, p. [illegible])

accompanied Marina Oswald whenever Marina left the house with her children" (R317, cf. 11 H 154).[1] This intriguing friendship became crucial to Oswald's career when Mrs. Paine located him a new job in the Texas School Book Depository (R733).

Even in New Orleans Oswald, who would never see or hear from de Mohrenschildt again (R283) had not escaped from the United Front-CIA sphere of influence. This becomes apparent when we see that in New Orleans Oswald formed social contacts within a new closed circle (this time largely Cuban rather than Russian), and that the two circles, Cuban and Russian, had an overlapping set of wealthy American patrons.

While in New Orleans the formerly indolent Oswald moved briefly again into public view: in a brief flurry of activity he set up a one-man local "chapter" of the pro-Castro Fair Play for Cuba Committee; he then distributed pro-Castro leaflets in prominent places, had himself arrested and pleaded guilty to a "fight" with Carlos Bringuier, an anti-Castro Cuban whom he had already met, and finally debated the same Carlos Bringuier on a right-wing radio program in which Oswald's Russian defection was publicized against him.

There are many clues that this activity (at least so far as Oswald's intentions are concerned) was an intelligence-inspired deception to establish a pro-Castro "cover", prior to Oswald's abortive effort to obtain a Cuban visa in Mexico City. For example the mimeographed "application" he gave to Bringuier's friend Carlos Quiroga to join the "Fair Play for Cuba Committee, New Orleans, La." carried precisely this and no more as its mailing address -- thus it is not surprising that Oswald was unsuccessful in recruiting members. His "fight" with Bringuier was equally unreal: Oswald, according to Bringuier, "put his arm down as an X...and told me, 'O.K. Carlos, if

[1] This detail, like others in this section, was first noted by Joachim Joesten, Marina Oswald (London: Peter Dawney, 1967), p. 91.

you want to hit me, hit me'....I decide not to hit him" (10 H 36). To this "crime" of disturbing the peace Oswald pleaded guilty and paid a $10 fine; the charges against Bringuier were dismissed (R729).

That Oswald was an agent will explain the ease with which this Marxist defector and possible traitor obtained a passport in one day from the Passport Office of the State Department, directed by the well-known anti-communist Miss Frances Knight. Miss Knight and her friend Otto Otepka, (who had previously handled Oswald's file) were two of the chief survivors in the upper echelons of State from the McCarthyite team of the late Scott McLeod who handled the State Department purge of the early 1950's. In 1966 Miss Knight, at the request of the FBI, sent what she called a "somewhat routine" message to American Embassies in Paris and Moscow, asking them to keep an eye on Harvard professor Stuart Hughes, a veteran of OSS, for his alleged pro-Communist convictions.[1] Yet no such message was sent in the case of Oswald. The Warren Report's investigation indicated that no "look-out" card on Oswald had been prepared in the Passport Office, either in 1960 (after he defected) or in 1962 (when he returned) even though Department procedures explicitly called for such "look-out"cards in both cases (R750-51, R772).

But the most blatant clue of Oswald's double role, a clue so obvious that its discovery was possibly intended, is mentioned by the Report in its efforts to show that Oswald's "Fair Play for Cuba" performance was in fact a one-man show without even an office:

> While the legend "FPCC 544 Camp St. NEW ORLEANS, LA." was stamped on some literature that Oswald had in his possession at the time of his arrest in New Orleans, extensive investigation was not able to connect Oswald with that address, although

[1] NYT, Mar. 23, 1966, p. 1; cited in Meagher, Accessories After the Fact, p. 335.

> it did develop the fact that an anti-Castro organization had maintained offices there for a period ending early in 1962 (R408).

The italicized statement tells us as much about the Commission's duplicity as its context does about Oswald's. In fact the Commission's investigation had established that the anti-Castro organization in question was the Consejo Revolutionario de Cuba or Cuban Revolutionary Council (CRC), the rather tenuous coalition of left and right wing anti-Castro Cubans set up by the CIA as a front for the Bay of Pigs (CE 1414, 22 H 829). It had also learned that in early 1962, when the CRC was at 544 Camp St., the Press and Propaganda Secretary of the CRC was none other than Carlos Jose Bringuier, the anti-Castro Cuban whose name was in Oswald's notebook (16 H 67) whom Oswald had met on at least four occasions, with whom he had been arrested in an unconvincing "fight" on August 9, and whom he debated over the radio on August 21. Though once again the Commission's transcript is slightly garbled so as to conceal this important testimony from Bringuier about his CRC office (10 H 34), it can be verified from Bringuier's biographical notice in a Cuban Who's Who.[1]

Bringuier was the Peter Gregory of Oswald's New Orleans period: he was the common acquaintance of at least six other persons who met Oswald and later testified before the Warren Commission about him. (Philip Geraci, Vance Blalock, William Stuckey, Evaristo Rodriguez, Orest Pena, Ruperto Pena). One of these witnesses, Orest Pena,

[1] Firmin Peraza, Personalidades Cubanas (Cuba en el exilio) (Gainesville, Fla.), X, 13.

(an anti-Batista member of the CRC), volunteered the information that Bringuier, because "the United States didn't help to overthrow Castro, hates the United States as much as he hates Russia" (11 H 353). This is one clue to ~~the contradictions~~ Bringuier's politics after he left the CRC in 1962 and became a Delegate to the Directorio Revolucionario Estudiantil (DRE), a group which in Dallas was frequented and supported by General Edwin Walker (11 H 425).[1]

In establishing these contacts with the circle of right-wing Cubans around Bringuier, Oswald, the supposed Marxist, was in fact re-establishing links with his own earlier right-wing associations dating from his ~~boyhood~~ in New Orleans. Bringuier, on his arrival in New Orleans in 1961, had first founded a right-wing Cuban newsletter, Crusade (10 H 34), with the support of a local organization known as the Crusade to Free Cuba Committee (CE 1414, 22 H 830). This "Crusade" or "Free Cuba Committee" was the local fund-raising name for the Frente Revolucionario Democratico, the CIA-sponsored coalition under Tony Varona which later merged with Manolo Ray's "left wing" (at the CIA's bidding) into the CRC.[2] The American who organized the Crusade was Ronald Caire, an advertising man who later told the Secret Service that around August 1963 "he seemed to recall Oswald applying for a job with his agency" (22 H 831). Even Jim Garrison's enemies agree with him that one of the financial supporters

[1] Another clue is that Bringuier's brother-in-law Rolando Pelaez, now working with Bringuier in New Orleans, had been an Under-Secretary of Defense under Batista (Peraza, V, 26).

[2] David Wise and Thomas Ross, The Invisible Government (New York: Bantam, 1965), pp. 26, 42. In New Orleans the Frente and the Crusade shared the same Post Office Box (26 H 770).

recruited by Caire for the Crusade was William Reily, who did employ Oswald for two months until July 1963.[1] The Oswald family had prior links to Reily's firm, whose Vice-President William Monahan was an ex-FBI agent (CE 3114, 26 H 764). Oswald's cousin William S. Oswald ~~was working there at the same time, and another~~ also worked there, and he had "some responsible position in one of the military reserve units" (CE 1919, 23 H 716). William's uncle, another William S. Oswald, ~~William S.~~ was originally listed by Lee as a reference (23 H 696; 26 H 764) and then deleted when he applied to the company. A fourth Oswald, Jules J., had worked twenty years with the Reily firm.[2]

Another Free Cuba Committee supporter was Dr. Alton Ochsner, a director of Patrick Frawley's Eversharp Corporation (a leading supporter of right-wing causes) with Barron Hilton of Hilton Hotels; Ochsner was also President of the psy-war "Information Council of the Americas" (ICA), an "anti-Communist propaganda organization" whose Executive Director, Edward S. Butler, took part in the Bringuier-Oswald debate and confronted Oswald with the "discovery" he was a Russian defector (R410; 11 H 166-69, 21 H 637-40). After the assassination it was learned that INCA (whose production manager Manuel Gil was a member of the CRC at 544 Camp St.) owned the rights to the Oswald-Bringuier debate, and also to a second Oswald

[1] Milton E. Brener, The Garrison Case: A Study in the Abuse of Power (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1969), p. 47.

[2] The Report (R725), following CE 1919 (23 H 717, an FBI report) calls the father of this William S the uncle of Lee; the Secret Service (CE 3114, 26 H 764-65) makes William himself Lee's uncle.

Nothing in the Report's exhaustive biography of Oswald explains Robert Oswald's statement in 1960 that Lee went to New Orleans in 1959 intending "to resume his former employment in export-import work" (CE 822, 17 H 711) -- unless the reference is to Oswald's two months as "a messenger boy for Gerald F. Tujague, Inc., a shipping company" (R680).

interview, which were both released as commercial recordings. The debate was issued by Key Records with a "dynamic documentary by Dr. Hargis", the close associate of Generals Walker[1] Charles Willoughby and Edwin Walker.

One Oswald link with the personnel of the Crusade (which folded in 1962) was through David Ferrie, a leader in the local Civil Air Patrol when Oswald was recruited into it by Frederick O'Sullivan, Ferrie's friend and Oswald's high school acquaintance (8 H 28).[2] It is conceded by Garrison's critic Milton Brener that, in early 1961, Ferrie conducted a clandestine arms "raid" for the right-wing Cubans supported by the ~~same~~ Crusade. Others who took part were Sergio Arcacha Smith (Bringuier's friend and then the Cubans' leader), Gordon Novel, and Layton Martens, Ferrie's room-mate and a member of his Civil Air Patrol Unit. The team "raided" an ammunition bunker belonging to a subsidiary of Schlumberger's, Ltd., a world-wide oil surveying corporation based in Houston but ~~belonging to~~ owned by the influential French Schlumberger family. As Brener points out,

> it appears clear that Schlumberger Well's bunker was serving that night as a transfer point for explosives with the acquiescence of its management, either here or in Texas and with officials of the United States Government, including, presumably, the Central Intelligence Agency. In fact Smith's party had a key to the bunker.[3]

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[1] Harold Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, (New York: Canyon Books, 1967), p. 49.

[2] Edward Voebel had told the New Orleans police "that he believed Oswald attended a party (not sure) at the home of David Ferrie" (CE 1413, 22 H 826) but once again Mr. Jenner asked no questions about it (8 H 14). For some of the other leads about Ferrie which the Commission did not pursue, see Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, pp. 162-206.

[3] Brener, pp. 40-42.

Whether the raid had CIA sanction or not, it is certain that the Houston representative of the family, John de Menil (whose wife was a Schlumberger) was at the heart of the Houston oil-and-CIA community. Four of his fellow-directors of the Bank of the Southwest were trustees of CIA-conduit funds: Col. W.B. Bates and his law partner Leon Jaworski of the M.D. Anderson Foundation, ~~(Dillon Anderson, a former Special Assistant to Eisenhower, was in turn a trustee of the Schlumberger Foundation)~~, Douglas B. Marshall of the Marshall Foundation, and Ernest Cockrell, Jr., a co-founder and trustee of the San Jacinto Fund with George de Mohrenschildt's friend John Mecom. De Menil personally was "a very close friend" of Paul Raigorodsky the leader of the Dallas Russian community, who arranged for de Mohrenschildt to meet de Menil on a business matter in 1962.(9 H 16).

By mid-1963, of course, the CIA-sponsored Consejo or CRC was moribund, its President Jose Miro Cardona had resigned in protest at Kennedy's prohibition of raids on Cuba from the U.S. mainland, and former right-wing protegés of the CIA like Bringuier were reported to be protesting privately as well as publicly against the agency for having cut back its support. (A Secret Service report of early December from Chicago, concerning a gun-running deal with a Cuban who had allegedly boasted "we" would "take care of Kennedy", reports the Cuban's concern to establish that the contact "was not a CIA agent": CE 2959, 26 H 441). Bringuier's DRE had earlier organized its own raids of the type now prohibited (10 H 34),[1] a

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[1] Bringuier's claim is confirmed by the biography of DRE member Juan Manuel Salvat in Peraza, Personalidades Cubanas, X, 53; cf. NYT, October 21, 1962, p. 22.

he attended at least one "ultra right meeting headed by Gen. Edwin A. Walker" (R738, citing 20 H 272, cf. 11 H 424).

The Commission had a further report from an American social worker, Mrs. Connell, saying in part that, according to "information furnished her by various Cubans...General Edwin A. Walker and Colonel...Caster, a close acquaintance of Walker, have been trying to arouse the feelings of the Cuban refugees, in Dallas, against the Kennedy administration, by making anti-Kennedy "speeches before Cuban groups" (CE 3108, 26 H 738). The Commission quietly investigated Mrs. Connell's story and learned that one of "Colonel Castor"'s acquaintances, Father McChann,[1] "always felt that Colonel Castor /a retired Army Colonel/ was 'playing the role of an intelligence officer' in his contacts with the Cubans" (CE 2943, 26 H 492). Instead of wishing to investigate how a retired Army Colonel could reconcile the role of an anti-Kennedy provocateur with that of an "intelligence officer", the Warren Hearings scrupulously avoided asking anyone about "Colonel Castor". Wesley Liebeler did ask Mrs. Connell's friend Sylvia Odio if she knew "Father McKann" (11 H 376); however, by a momentary slip of the tongue, he revealed accidently that he was determined not to put any questions about Mrs. Connell's story to an obvious witness -- General Edwin Walker:

> Mr. LIEBELER. Do you recall speaking -- pardon me, not speaking, but going to any meetings of anti-Castro Cuban groups during the month of October 1963?...
>
> General WALKER. Well, there is a student directorate group, which I remember they call themselves....I attended a meeting sometime and listened to some speakers (11 H 425).

Mr. Liebeler's desire to avoid the topic of Walker's and Colonel Castorr's anti-Kennedy speeches is understandable. If Mrs. Connell had been found correct on this point, this could only have lent credence to the three other pieces of information she had given the FBI:

(1) Through a Cuban refugee called Sylvia Odio, an associate of the "left anti-Castro" JURE movement of Manuel Ray, unpopular in Dallas (11 H 370), Mrs. Connell had met a Mr. /Juan/ Martin from Uruguay, who "apparently travelled out of the United States a great deal" and "had tried to obtain guns for the Cuban people in their contemplated overthrow of Castro" (26 H 738).

NOTE: This story was corroborated both by Silvia Odio (11 H 375, 26 H 405) and by one of the leading figures in Manuel Ray's JURE movement, Rogelio Cisneros (26 H 350, 26 H 839). There are grounds for thinking that small-arms trafficking in Dallas might have supplied the organization for the double killing of Kennedy and Oswald: one witness (Nancy Perrin Rich, once "a paid informer of the Oakland Police Department"[1], who earlier worked for Jack Ruby) identified Ruby as being a member of a gun-running conspiracy (12 H 349) along with

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[1] Father Walter J. McChann, whose name is ~~systematically~~ misspelt in the Hearings as "McKann" (11 H 376) and omitted from the Index. "Col. Castor" was identified by Harold Weisberg from the Dallas telephone directory as Col. L. Robert Castorr, who later moved to Arlington, Va.

[1] CE 3058, 26 H 616.

an Army colonel (11 H 343) and a "Latin-looking fellow" (14 H 348). But the Report suppresses all reference to Mrs. Rich's testimony, both from its chapter on "Investigation of Possible Conspiracy" (132 pages, including a whole page devoted to "Allegations of /Ruby's/ Cuban activity", R369), and from its appendix on "Speculations and Rumors" (32 pages). The Commission asked no questions about Juan Martin, even though Silvia Odio volunteered information about him (11 H 375).

(2) The same Silvia Odio had told Mrs. Connell "that she knew LEE HARVEY OSWALD, and that he had made some talks to small groups of Cuban refugees in Dallas in the past" (26 H 738). The Commission did explore the first half of this statement, since Mrs. Odio (as well as her sister, 11 H 362) claimed to have met Oswald in her own apartment with two Latin Americans; and her description of one of the latter (as the Commission noted) corresponded to that of a Latin American alleged to have been observed in Oswald's presence in New Orleans. ("Both /Rodriguez and Odio/ testified that the man may have been of either Cuban or Mexican extraction, and had a slight bald spot on the forepart of his hairline," R325, c.f. 26 H 596).[1] Mr. Liebeler however did not

[1]According to the Report, "On September 16, 1964, the FBI located Loran Eugene Hall" (a well-known clandestine warrior in Latin America, c.f. NYT, Apr. 22, 1959, p. 14; July 4, 1959, p. 30; July 9, 1959, p. 8).) who "said he had visited Mrs. Odio" with two other persons (R324). The Report was delivered to the President on September 21. On October 2 the belatedly located Mr. Hall altered his story to the FBI; and, too late for the Report, denied seeing Mrs. Odio, (Meagher, p. 387). Whatever the true facts, the efforts to discredit Mrs. Odio's story only increase the case for conspiracy, especially since Commission Counsel Liebeler told Epstein he had "found that a number of details in the woman's story coincided with facts she could not possibly have known" (Epstein, Inquest, p. 107).

pursue the second half of Mrs. Connell's statement about Oswald's speeches in Dallas, except to ask Mrs. Odio whether she had told her psychiatrist[1] that she herself "had seen Oswald in more than one anti-Castro Cuban meeting" (11 H 361).

(3) Mrs. Connell, finally, had heard through Mrs. Odio that another Cuban, by placing a telephone call to New Orleans, learned "that OSWALD was considered...to be a 'double agent'. The source stated OSWALD was probably trying to infiltrate the Dallas Cuban refugee group, and that he should not be trusted." (26 H 738). This story seems not only plausible, but indeed a likely explanation for Oswald's ambivalent behavior in attending DRE meetings in Dallas while writing unsolicited letters to the New York headquarters of the Communist Party (R738). It would also explain why the Commission waited until July before interviewing Mrs. Odio, obviously an important witness, and then failed to put any questions to her about this or related matters.

For Oswald to have been a "double agent", as opposed to an agent, would mean that he was playing no less than three ideological roles, in addition to his everyday employment as greaser or handyman.

[1]Dr. Bruton Einspruch, obtained for Mrs. Odio through the offices of Dr. Stubblefield (11 H 389), the psychiatrist at Parkland whose testimony in 1962 helped Robert Morris to obtain the release after the Ole Miss riots of General Edwin Walker.

(a) his public flaunting of "pro-Castro" sympathies by leafleting in New Orleans, a "cover" for what was almost certainly an anti-Castro role

(b) his anti-Castro role in attending and allegedly speaking at private anti-Castro meetings of Cubans in Dallas

(c) a third role as a "double agent" -- possibly to report to an undetermined U.S. intelligence agency on what were undoubtedly illegal activities (such as gun-running) contemplated by the DRE and other extreme right-wing anti-Castro Cuban groups in Dallas.

The role of a "double agent" is a particularly dangerous one: in the event that one organization uncovers the duplicity and takes revenge, the second organization is unlikely to respond for fear of "blowing its cover". But double agents are also dangerous to the agency which employs them, since experience has shown that those in a double role will frequently reverse their loyalties. In other words both double agents and their patrons are particularly susceptible to the double-cross. And Oswald, if he was not a "loner", looks very much like the victim of a double-cross; his own voluntary "left-wing" pretensions, apparently affected to serve some covert role, were used after his death to establish his guilt as an assassin, initially by right-wing elements in Dallas, and ultimately by the Warren Commission and U.S. government establishment.

Whatever the true facts, whether Oswald was an agent, a double agent, or simply a lonely Marxist seeking to broaden his horizons,

one suspects that an excellent witness to explain Oswald's activity at a Dallas DRE meeting would have been Colonel Castorr, the retired Army colonel who allegedly spoke to such groups along with General Walker, while apparently "playing the role of an intelligence officer." That Oswald and Castorr had been involved with each other would help explain why (as we saw) it was Jack Crichton of "Army Reserve, Intelligence Service" (9 H 106) who contacted the "excessive rightist" Ilya Mamantov (9 H 219) to serve as Marina's interpreter with the Dallas police. One small clue that Castorr and Crichton were playing intelligence roles is that the leads linking them to the Oswalds were apparently never pursued; another clue is that neither the FBI nor the Commission could ever, even once, spell their names correctly. (Since the Commission went so far as to have a psychiatrist analyze Oswald's spelling errors, it is not unjust that someone analyze those of the Commission and its Documents: among those non-witnesses whose names are misspelt are Castorr's friend Father McCheany, DRE Secretary Anna Diaz-Silveira (who possessed the roster to the DRE meeting), and at least two members of the General Walker entourage.)

A police report of November 23 from Deputy Sheriff Eddy Walthers (who helped arrest Oswald and collect his belongings in the Paines' garage) reported telling the Secret Service about week-end meetings "at 3128 Harlendale" of "some Cubans...possibly connected with the 'Freedom for Cuba Party' of which Oswald was a member" (Decker Exh. 5323, 19 H 534). Three days later Walthers added a second report that at some point between November 15 and 23

"these Cubans moved from this house". "My informant," he added, "stated that subject Oswald had been to this house before" (19 H 534). Commission Counsel Liebeler questioned Mr. Walthers about his reports on the direction of the shooting in Dealey Plaza ("high and behind the president" 19 H 518), on the arrest of Oswald, and on the discovery of the blanket said tocontain Oswald's rifle. He did not question him about this report on the Harlendale Cubans. ("Mr. LIEBELER. We have covered the basic points that I wanted to cover and that's all." 7 H 552). Mr. Walthers however volunteered the information that in the Paine's garage he had found along with the blanket "a big pasteboard barrel and it had a lot of these little leaflets in it, "Freedom for Cuba" and they were gold color with black printing on them " (7 H 548). These same leaflets, with the title reversed, are mentioned in his own report of the visit to the Paines' ("stacks of hendbills concerning 'Cuba for Freedom' (sic) advertising", 19 H 520). They are not however mentioned in Detective Stovall's report on the same visit and were apparently not taken into evidence. (Stovall Exh. A, 21 H 596-97; 9 H 419-21).

446 ¶

The Commission's failure to explore this discrepancy, between Walthers' report and Stovall's, suggests that there was substance to District Attorney Wade's repeated "slip" at his press conference, the night of the assassination, when he twice called Oswald "a member of the Free Cuba Committee" or "The Free Cuba [illegible]" (2[illegible] H [illegible]), as Garrison and others have charged, If so, it might appear that Oswald/[illegible] was still in touch with the Cubans associated with Bringuier's friend Sergio Arcacha Smith; for Arcacha Smith had moved to Houston after the dissolution of his "Crusade to Free Cuba Committee" in New Orleans.[1] And it is all the more intriguing to learn that Jack Ruby, by his own admission and by Wade's, was the voice in the audience on Friday night that corrected Wade's revealing error (5 H 189, cf. 15 H 459).

There are two clues, both so obvious they have been somewhat overlooked, that Oswald was indeed double-crossed by ~~someone~~ an agency for which he was working. ~~One of~~ These are the extraordinary reports on Oswald prepared by the New Orleans and Dallas offices of the FBI before the assassination (CE 826, 17 H 753; CE 829, 17 H 772). CE 826 contains a report by New Orleans agent John Quigley of the interview which he conducted in jail with Lee Harvey Oswald on August 10, 1963, the day after his arrest, at Oswald's request. (4 H 432, 17 H 758). To judge from this report, Oswald had called in the FBI for no other purpose than to strengthen his reputation as a liar and a Marxist. He allegedly revealed to the FBI that he had lied ~~to the police~~ to the New Orleans police by saying he was born in Cuba, but and added new lies for the FBI about his domicile and past.[1] He also gave them exaggerated information and documentation about his left-wing activities, including a leaflet by Corliss Lamont which Oswald had distributed. Oswald's fight, arrest and interview followed FBI interviews with at least two witnesses about Oswald on August 5. (17 H 772).

On October 31, ~~[illegible]~~ this leaflet by Lamont was interpreted into a rambling McCarthy-like "Appendix" to the FBI Oswald report, establishing "links" between the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the Communist Party. Corliss Lamont, the FBI informed itself, had been identified before a Senate Committee by Louis Budenz (on "September 28, 1963") as a CP member in the late 1940's; Lamont was also a representative of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, as was Frank Wilkinson. And (here the confidential FBI Oswald report

[1] In fact the New Orleans police report on the Oswald interview (CE 1413, 22 H 822) does not say that Oswald told them, correctly, that he had been born in New Orleans.

quoted from a published HUAC Report) "In 1956 WILKINSON was identified as a Communist Party member by a former FBI undercover agent within the party." (17 H 766-67). J. Edgar Hoover later sent a letter to the Commission indicating that his own Bureau, FBI Headquarters in Washington, had had a hand in passing on this "appropriate characterization of Corliss Lamont", i.e. this inane but ominous response to Oswald's leaflet (CE 834, 17 H 811).

CE 829, the Dallas FBI Report on Oswald of September 10, was prepared by FBI agent James Hosty (whose name and telephone number were found in Oswald's notebook, CE 18, 16 H 64). It too has an Appendix, identical in part with the first five paragraphs of the first Appendix, and ~~[illegible]~~ based in part on informer Santos-Buch's testimony against the FPCC before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, as reported in the New York Times.[1] Hosty however had his own information on Oswald's "Connections with the Communist Party"(sic):

> On April 21, 1963, Dallas confidential informant T-2 advised that LEE H. OSWALD of Dallas, Texas, was in contact with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee in New York City at which time he advised that he passed out pamphlets for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. According to T-2, OSWALD had a placard around his neck reading, "Hands Off Cuba Viva Fidel" (17 H 773).

The Report, on the word of Hosty himself, later argued that this information came from "the FBI field office in New York" (R435, cf. 4 H 444). But Hoover's description of the 69 items in Oswald's FBI Headquarters file reveals no such communication from New York to Dallas (17 H 809-10); this would suggest that Dallas confidential informant T-2 was indeed a

[1] 17 H 774, 765; NYT, Jan. 11, 1961, p. 10.

confidential informant in Dallas. If so T-2's language would seem to identify him as the man who on April 19, 1963 wrote to the FPCC in New York that

> I stood yesterday for the first time in my life, with a placard around my neck, passing out Fair Play for Cuba penplets...My home-made placard said: HANDS OFF CUBA! VIVA FIDEL! (V.T. Lee Exh. 1, 20 H 511)

"Dallas confidential informant T-2", in other words, sounds very much like Lee Harvey Oswald himself. This would explain why Hosty took no action on the report, even though the New York FBI had requested all offices "to be on the alert" for activities of the FPCC (R435, 4 H 445).[1]

Inasmuch as the FBI was thus before the assassination informing itself about what it called Oswald's "Connections with the Communist Party", we should perhaps be grateful that its post-assassination inquiries, prompted by the Commission, did much to undo the effect of these same reports. But why was the FBI building up a secret dossier of worthless evidence that Oswald was a "Communist"?[2] And why were its files, unlike those of the Dallas Police (19 H 534), completely bare of any of Oswald's current activities (allegedly among

[1] Hosty testified that the information, which had allegedly reached the New York office on April 21, did not reach him until June when it was "stale". The story is not a very good example of FBI "alertness" (R435, 4 H 444)

[2] I cannot resist quoting the following argument by Agent Hosty to the Commission that Oswald was in fact a Trotskyite: "The Socialist Workers' Party is the Trotskyite Party in the United States, and they are supposedly the key element in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, or were the key element in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. So this would tie in with the fact that he was a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, and, therefore, he claimed to be a Trotskyite -- this would follow" (4 H 454).

right-wing Cubans) in Dallas?

Hosty's answer to this second question is that the Oswald case was not officially transferred back to the Dallas FBI office from New Orleans until November 21, the day before the assassination (4 H 462).[1] Hosty spent the morning of November 22 with "an Army Intelligence agent" (4 H 461)! One wonders if he had contacts with Mr. Crichton, or Col. Castoro, or Mr. James Powell, Army Intelligence, who was trapped inside the Texas School Book Depository after the Depository door had been sealed."[2] After the assassination Hosty returned to his office, and found the transfer from New Orleans which had just arrived, plus [illegible] message from the FBI field office in Washington which had also just arrived, saying that Oswald was in touch with the Soviet Embassy. Hosty immediately rushed with all this information to the office of Lt. Revill, Criminal Intelligence Section of the Dallas Police (4 H 463).

Lt. Revill, who at this point had never heard of Lee Harvey Oswald, testified that at 2:50 p.m. "Mr. Hosty ran over to me and he says, "Jack...a Communist killed President Kennedy" (5 H 34, 37; cf. 5 H 49). Oswald, Hosty reportedly added, was "in our Communist file" (5 H 34). Twice under oath Lt. Revill further testified that Hosty added, inexplicably, "We had information that this man was capable...of committing this assassination" (5 H 35; CE 709, 17 H 495). (If the third statement were true, Hosty would of course have been duty-bound to warn the Secret Service.) Twice under oath, after the story broke in the Dallas Morning News, Hosty denied making this third

[1] The Report gives Hosty another alibi -- on November 1 he had only asked Ruth Paine for Oswald's address (which she did not have) rather than his telephone number (which she did have but failed to volunteer, "because she thought the FBI was in possession of a great deal of information", (R439). Hosty, it concludes, did not "learn Oswald's address or telephone number in Dallas" (R439). But Hosty did learn Oswald's business address, at 411 Elm Street.

[illegible]

statement (4 H 463, CE 831, 17 H 768).[1]

Today it is clear only that someone, either Revill or Hosty, either Hosty (who had an obvious motive), or Revill (who did not), committed perjury. But after Oswald's death on November 24, when the Dallas police and District Attorney both pronounced his case closed, Dallas police files contained Revill's memorandum of November 22, stating unequivocally (on the authority of FBI agent Hosty) that Oswald "was a member of the Communist Party" (17 H 495). That is where the matter would probably have stood, if President Johnson had not created the Warren Commission to re-examine the evidence. Thanks to that intervention, we now know why FBI Agent Hosty called Oswald a Communist Party member: (1) he subscribed to the Worker, (2) "T-2" had said he stood with a Fidelista placard round his neck, (3) in New Orleans he handed out FPCC leaflets by Corliss Lamont, and (4) Oswald had been in touch with the Soviet Embassy. This may not tell us who killed President Kennedy, but surely it tells us something about the FBI.

On January 27, 1964, District Attorney Wade and Texas Attorney General Waggoner Carr notified the Commission of a rumor that Oswald had in fact been an informer or agent with an assigned number, on the FBI or some similar payroll.[2] Wade's evidence included hearsay that Oswald had a government voucher for $200 at the time of his arrest (5 H 242) and that Agent Hosty's phone number and licence plate were included in Oswald's notebook.[3] The second piece of hearsay turned out of course to be true (16 H 64) but the Commission

[1] Hosty also denied that he had told Revill, or anyone else on the Dallas Police force, that there was a file on Oswald (4 H 468-69).

[2] Gerald Ford, Portrait of the Assassination, (New York: , 1965), pp. 18, 19; cited in Epstein, Inquest, pp. 33-34.

[3] Epstein, p. 34;

did not establish this until February; Hosty's name had been omitted from the list of names in Oswald's notebook originally supplied by the FBI to the Commission (5 H 112). The hearsay about Oswald's assigned number "S172" (which presumably came from the voucher) was traced by the Secret Service through Houston Post reporter Lonnie Hudkins to Allan Sweatt, Chief Criminal Division, Sheriff's Office, Dallas (Commission Document 320, National Archives). The Commission seems to have recoiled from pursuing the matter further: the Secret Service report was unpublished, unlike another Hudkins interview (24 H 364), and neither Hudkins or Sweatt were asked to testify. Instead J. Edger Hoover was allowed to characterize Hudkins as the uncooperative teller of a lie (5 H 116), and Ruth Paine was encouraged, in a series of leading questions, to comment on the hearsay version of what the FBI said she said that Hudkins said.[1] What emerges from her testimony is that Ruth Paine was among those hoping to dissuade Hudkins from printing his "very unresponsible" story, and that she "called the FBI really to see if they could advise me in dealing with this man" (3 H 105).

From the sworn testimony of two CIA and five FBI officials, "corroborated by the Commission's independent review of the Bureau files", the Commission concluded that "there was absolutely no

[1] Mr. JENNER. ... You /did/ say, did you not, that this reporter Hudkins...in his contact with you on the previous Saturday, December 28 had stated that the FBI was foolish to deny that Agent Joseph Hosty, being a reference to the FBI agent we have been talking about today, had tried to develop Lee Harvey Oswald as an informant. You stated you had made no comment one way or the other to Hudkins regarding this remark, and furthermore that you knew that ---
Mrs. PAINE. Would you please repeat that, that I stated?
Mr. JENNER. I will read it all to you then. You advised that Lonny Hudkins...had stated to you that the FBI was foolish to deny that Agent Hosty had tried to develop Lee Harvey Oswald as an informant. Did you make that statement?
Mrs. PAINE. Not in just those terms." (3 H 105)

type of informant or undercover relationship between an agency of the U.S. Government and Lee Harvey Oswald" (R 327). But the Hearings show that Chief Justice Warren declined on security grounds to accept the FBI Headquarters file on Oswald (5 H 13); and "according to Samuel Stern, the lawyer in charge of the area, no independent check was ever made of it."[1]

Sylvia Meagher has collected the indications that Oswald had in fact met Hosty before: Oswald's extremely violent reaction to Hosty on November 22, pounding the desk and accusing him "of accosting his wife two different times" (R601) bears out Robert Oswald's wholly independent account of Marina's hostile reaction to Hosty on November 27 ("she was of the opinion that he had harassed Lee in his interviews", 1 H 410, cf. 23 H 385).[2] The latter is wholly incompatible with Marina's later story, vigorously corroborated by Hosty and Ruth Paine, that Oswald was not present at the two FBI interviews on November 1 and 5 and that there was no harassment or protest. (I H 48-49).[3]

The Commission accepts the second story without question; it also accepts the three witnesses' story that Hosty gave Ruth Paine his name and phone number (to which Marina independently added his license number), thus explaining the presence of this information in Oswald's notebook. Yet Ruth Paine had twice in her testimony of

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[1] Epstein, p. 38; Meagher, p. 350.

[2] Oswald had also written the Soviet Embassy, "I and my wife strongly protested [Hosty's] tactics by the notorious FBI", CE 15, 16 H 33.

[3] Hosty testified specifically that "I told Mrs. Paine to relate to her [Marina] in the Russian language that I was not there for the purpose of harming her, harassing her" (4 H 450).

a little earlier indicated that she learned Hosty's name "subsequently" (3 H 96, cf. 3 H 92), corroborating Marina's memory that on November 1 Hosty's name "was different" (1 H 48). And it became impossible to conceive how Marina could have written down the license number: on November 1 Hosty's car "was parked down the street" and on November 5, when the car was directly opposite, "the license plate was not visible" from the house (3 H 100).[1] Ruth Paine, trying to clear up the problem, suggested Marina might have seen the license from a bedroom window; this hypothesis was actually tested four days later by Jenner, Mrs. Paine, and a Secret Service agent, and proven impossible ("You cannot even see the license plate, much less any of the numbers", 9 H 398). No further questions about license plates were put by the Commission to Marina at her three subsequent interviews; the Report simply incorporates her story that she "noted Hosty's license number which she gave to her husband" (R327).

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[1] On March 23, 1964.

V

RUBY AND THE SYNDICATE

But what of Jack Ruby? If Oswald was not a "lone assassin" but an element (possibly innocent) in a well-organized conspiracy, Ruby would appear to be not a lone assassin either, but a necessary agent to prevent Oswald's disclosure of his double role. The Report stressed Ruby's erratic and idiosyncratic behavior as ~~much as it did~~ a rigorously independent person (R 345) ~~Oswald's~~ -- yet it and the Hearings contain strong indications that Ruby, like Oswald, was linked to a far-reaching secret organization -- in this case the world of organized crime.

The Report considers this possibility, and rejects it: "the Commission believes that the evidence does not establish a significant link between Ruby and organized crime" (R801). Yet it concedes that Ruby's record in this respect was not altogether reassuring. As a youth, it asserts, "Ruby was unquestionably familiar, if not friendly, with some Chicago criminals" (R790), and a document cited in its footnote (CE 1288, 22 H 423), an FBI Report, indicates that one of these was Al Capone. Ruby, when fifteen, belonged to a group of twelve youths including the professional boxer Barney Ross; according to Ross, Capone would give someone in the group "a dollar to run innocuous errands". Ross, the FBI report continues blandly, "believed that these envelopes...did not contain any messages or anything of value....Capone did this in order to make them think they were earning a dollar and in order to keep them from hanging around the streets."

The same Report exhibits once again the FBI's inability to record correctly the names of notorious persons. The other associates of Ross are listed as "Frank Nitty" -- (i.e. Frank "the Enforcer" Nitti, Capone's cousin

and successor as chief of the Chicago Crime Syndicate), and "Murray Humphries,"--i.e. Murray "the Camel" Humphreys, a Nitti henchman who was "perhaps the only kidnapper in history to have paid income tax on ransom money without being charged with the crime."[1]

In the interwar years Al Capone was known for collecting errand boys, whose errands were more likely to lead them into crime than keep them out of it. For example Charles "Cherry Nose" Gioe, who was convicted along with John Roselli in 1943 in the Hollywood extortion case, was described to the Kefauver Committee in 1950 as having once been a "messenger boy" for Al Capone.[2] It would seem that, thus, though Ruby's career did not necessarily end in the world of organized crime, it began there.

On December 5, 1963, the FBI in Chicago interviewed a mobster called Dave Yaras, who also knew Ruby from his youthful errand days on Division Street in Chicago's 24th Ward (CE 1268, 22 H 372). Yaras claimed Ruby also knew another Chicago hoodlum, Lenny Patrick, "like he [Yaras] knows him," but that Ruby "was positively on his own and not outfit connected." Eva Grant, Ruby's sister, later confirmed that Ruby knew Patrick (whom he had gone to school with, 21 H 356) and indeed contacted him Ruby shortly before the Kennedy assassination (14 H 445). Apparently the FBI did not ask

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[1] David Demaris, Captive City (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1969), pp. 5, 17, 122.

[2] U.S. Cong., Senate, Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, Hearings, Part 5, p. 356 (hereafter cited as Kefauver Hearings).

the obvious question of how well Yaras knew Patrick; but the Kefauver Hearings of twenty years ago suggest that Yaras may have known Patrick well. Both of them were arrested together and indicted for the murder in June 1946 of James Ragen, when the Capone syndicate moved in and took over Ragen's Continental Press, a racing wire service.[1]

As in the case of the FBI reports on Oswald, so CE 1268, the FBI interview with Dave Yaras, tells us less about the Yaras-Patrick-Ruby relationship than it does about the FBI's own attitude toward it. Though both Yaras and Patrick figured prominently in Chicago Syndicate operations and have been so identified in charts before Senate Hearings on organized crime,[2] there is nothing to suggest this in the FBI interview. On the contrary, although it is standard practice for the FBI interviews in the Warren Hearings to open by identifying the address and employment of the interviewee, this report merely begins "DAVE YARAS, was interviewed at Joe Pierce's Restaurant, Division Street, Chicago" (22 H 372). This spirit of discretion towards the Syndicate was entirely sustained by the Warren Commission, which ignored Yaras and Patrick in its Report, and misspelled Yaras' name--as "Yeres"--when Jack Ruby's sister Eva Grant began spontaneously to reminisce about him (14 H 444).

[1] Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, pp. 461, 464, 465.

[2] U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee on Government Operations, Organized Crime and Illicit Traffic in Narcotics, Hearings, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 508, Chart II.

As a result the Warren Commission is silent about the charges made to the McClellan Committee on Organized Crime that Dave Yaras had moved into "some gambling in Cuba" and "had at least something to do with the setting up and establishing of [Teamsters] local 320 in Miami."[1] The man who made these charges in 1958 was the McClellan Committee's youthful counsel, Robert F. Kennedy, who as Attorney General in 1963 was even more interested in attacking organized crime and above all its links with the Teamsters.

The murder of Ragen for which Yaras and Patrick were arrested climaxed the efforts of Jacob Guzik and the Chicago Syndicate

> to ease Ragen out and take over the entire [Continental] wire service, and thereby gain control over every handbook in the country.[2]

It was an important event nationally and also locally, where Jake Arvey, a lawyer who had been retained by Continental, was the powerful Democratic Committeeman from Ruby's haunts, the 24th Ward; and John S. Boyle, attorney of record for the Guzik opposition ("Trans-American") became State's Attorney in 1948.[3] (Jack Ruby and his brother Hyman both may have worked for Arvey's 24th Ward Democratic machine, as did Lenny Patrick).[4]

[1] U.S. Cong., Senate, Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, Hearings, 85th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 12522, 7416 (cited hereafter as McClellan Hearings).

[2] U.S. Cong., Senate, Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, 81st Cong., Report on Organized Crime (New York: Didier, [1951], p. 135.

[3] Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, 158; Demaris, p. 131. Boyle once referred to those purchasing Trans-American's wire service as "pretty high-class-looking people." He is now Chief Judge of the Criminal Court in Chicago.

[4] For unrelated reports of Ruby as an 24th Ward Arvey Democrat, which the Report [illegible] (R.H.), see CE 1717, 22 H 227; Dunn, Federal Bu[illegible]

Yet the Kefauver Committee was not able to learn anything about the murder when it came to Chicago three weeks before the 1950 November elections:

> In typical Chicago fashion, a few days before the committee convened, two important witnesses (former police captain William Drury, and attorney Marvin Bas) were silenced by gang bullets. Drury's first mistake went back four years, to the murder investigation of James Ragen, owner of Continental Press, a wire service in competition with the Syndicate's Trans-American. At that time, Drury brought in Jake Guzik for questioning. Police Commissioner Prendergast shook his head and said: "They won't like it." Dared by Drury to take a polygraph test, Guzik lost his temper and shouted: "If I took a test, twenty of Chicago's biggest men would jump out of windows." But instead of big men jumping out of windows, Drury was thrown off the force. State's Attorney Touhy and Chief Investigator Gilbert fervently endorsed the charge of depriving Jake Guzik of his civil rights all the way to the state's supreme court before the dismissal became final. On the other hand, Touhy and Gilbert were less successful in prosecuting Guzik's associates (Lenny Patrick, Dave Yaras, and William Block) who were identified by four witnesses as Ragen's murderers and indicted by the grand jury. Then, in quick order, one witness was murdered, two recanted and the other fled in panic. The indictment was dropped.[1]

The Ragen wire service had originally been established by the late Moe Annenberg, one of whose networks was revealed in 1940 to have become the fifth largest customer of AT&T. [According to Rufus King] its reallocation after Ragen's death established the national framework of the Syndicate as it still functions today:

> Following the murder of James E. Ragen of Continental Press in 1946, into the center of this spider's web moved Tony Accardo and "Greasy Thumb" Guzik, the heirs of Al Capone from Chicago, with satellite gang overlords joining them from every crime center in the country--the Dutch Schultz heirs [Meyer Lansky] and the Costello and Adonis interests in New York, Jack Dragna and Mickey Cohen from the West Coast with their wire service strong-arm man, John Roselli, Carlos Marcello in New Orleans, the Binaggio forces in Kansas City, and so on through the whole evil roster.
>
> To attribute half the gang killings and mob violence of the forties and fifties to battles over control of this gambling empire would be a very conservative speculation. Whoever controlled the wire service 'drops' in a town became the master of gambling activities there. And more often than not he also controlled--the word is responsibly chosen, controlled--the community's local law enforcement agencies. No one could run a substantial book without the wire service, or in competition against it . . . and . . . once you have got the patrolman--and his lieutenant and his captain and the Chief--taking bribes from your organization for 'protection' of a harmless little gambling enterprise, you have got them for all purposes.[1]

[1]Demaris, p. 130.

I have slightly interpolated these important conclusions by Rufus King, ~~the legislative counsel for the Kefauver Committee~~, because we shall soon have more to say about Lansky, Cohen, Roselli, and Marcello. And Jack Ruby not only knew two of the three men indicted for the murder of Ragen, there are signs ~~is evidence~~ that the reconstitution of the Ragen empire was a factor in his move in 1947 from Chicago to Dallas, Texas.

The Warren Report concedes that, in his later years, Ruby knew Paul Roland Jones, who was convicted in the late 1940's of opium-smuggling and of an attempt to bribe Sheriff Guthrie of Dallas (R 792-93). The Report is silent about

[1]Rufus King, Gambling and Organized Crime (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1969), pp. 27-29; emphasis in original. John Roselli himself told the Kefauver Committee that "the wire-service company never could get along without local corruption. You know that" (Part 5, p. 384).

Jones' earlier murder conviction of life imprisonment "for killing a State witness."[1] Sheriff Guthrie himself identified Ruby to the FBI as a "small time peanut" with the Syndicate group of Jones, Labriola, Lipsky, and Jack Knappi, a Cousin of "JACK HETTI, well known Chicago hoodlum" (CE 1251, 22 H 360). According to Jones' own information in an FBI Report, Ruby had been introduced to him by Paul "Needle-nose" Labriola, Jimmy Weinberg, and Danny Lardino (CE 1184, 22 H 300; cf. CE 1300, 22 H 478), three well-known syndicate labor hoodlums from Chicago, who came down with Jones to Dallas in 1947.[2] (In 1954 Labriola and Weinberg were both found garroted in a car trunk. Exactly the fate in San Francisco, 1947, was met by Jones' sometime Dallas business partner and Chicago mobster, Nick De John--allegedly for De John's failure to make good on Syndicate losses in Jones' Dallas operation.)[3] Jones placed his encounter with Ruby in the lobby of the Congress Hotel in Chicago, exactly where Meyer Lansky had once been arrested with Lucky Luciano and Paul "The Waiter" Ricca in 1932.[4]

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[1] Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, p. 1177; McClellan Hearings, p. 12520.

[2] McClellan Hearings, p. 12521.

[3] DeMaris, p. 27; Ed Reid, The Grim Reapers, pp. 197-99; Kefauver Hearings, Part 10, 494-99; CE 1184, 22 H 297; McClellan Hearings, p 12524. A penny had been stuffed into De John's rectum as a Mafia mark of derision.

[4] Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, p. 18; In 1947 Ruby was registered in the Congress Hotel as a permanent guest. (CE 1708, 23 H 203)

Sheriff Guthrie's recollection that Ruby was a "small peanut" with the Jones-Lipsky-Labriola crowd in Dallas received independent corroboration from Jack Wilner, a crime reporter on The Chicago Daily News. Wilner heard from Chicago "syndicate sources" that "RUBY was reportedly involved in 1947 with NICK ST. JOHN, PAUL LABRIOLA, MARCUS LIPSKY, and PAUL RONALD JONES, in an effort to take over gambling in the Dallas, Texas area" (CE 1321, 22 H 496).

The Warren Commission, however, simply ignored this charge, and instead sought to refute Guthrie's recollection that Ruby would reportedly run a restaurant for the Jones group as a front:

> The Commission finds it difficult to accept this report. A member of the Dallas Police Department, Lt. George E. Butler, who was present during virtually all the conversations between Guthrie and Jones . . . explained that Ruby's connection with the case stemmed from the fact that . . . Jones and other criminals frequented the Singapore [financed by Jack Ruby and operated by his sister]. And 22 recordings of the conversations between Guthrie, Butler and Jones not only fail to mention Ruby, but indicate that Jones was to bring from outside the Dallas area only one confederate, who was not to be Jewish (R 793).

The restaurant issue seems not only a minor one, but a red herring. It is nonetheless significant that both of the Commission's stated grounds for refuting Guthrie are false. Despite Lt. Butler's assertion (CE 1265, 22 H 370) that the way RUBY came into the picture was because "JONES began hanging out at RUBY's club," the truth is that Jack Ruby and his brother Hymie were questioned in October 1947 because Hymie

both met and was telephoned by two of Jones' men, Taylor Crossland and Maurice Costello Melton, who were caught smuggling in 48 pounds of raw opium from Mexico (CE 1708, 23 H 203-04; CE 1271, 22 H 374; R 792).[1] And in the 22 recordings (two other recordings were unaccountably missing, CE 2116, 25 H 514), Jones told Sheriff Guthrie that there would be a non-Jewish confederate in one particular gambling enterprise. But Jones had already told Guthrie he would bring many other associates from the Chicago syndicate into Dallas in May of 1947, the year that Ruby himself moved from Chicago to Dallas.[2] May 1947 was the month in which Continental, with its new Syndicate element in control, suddenly began once again to make money.[3] The same Lt. Butler assured Robert Kennedy and the McClellan Committee in 1958 that "In all, there were about 20 members of that [Chicago] mob that came down into Dallas."[4]

Back in 1950 the Kefauver Committee had prepared a partial transcript of the Jones recordings (Exhibit 64, Part 5, 1184), which the Warren Commission did not consult and does not even mention. The Kefauver and McClellan Committees also heard from the same Lieutenant Butler a much

[1] Crossland's name appears as "Crossley" in the Warren Commission Hearings (14 H 451).

[2] Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, p. 1179.

[3] Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, p. 1060: "Mr. Hilton. We lost, I think, $180,000 up until about the middle of May 1947 and then started making money after that."

[4] McClellan Hearings, p. 12521.

more candid account of Jones' scale of operations. In October, 1946, before the recordings began, Jones had told Butler "the syndicate he is connected with operates from coast to coast, and in Canada and Spain" (Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, 1178). He was engaged in smuggling whiskey into Oklahoma from Wichita Falls, Texas, and lumber into Spain from Vera Cruz, Mexico (Part 5, 1179): Hymie Rubenstein, Jack Ruby's brother, admitted to the Federal Bureau of Narcotics in 1947 that Jones had approached him about deals in whiskey and lumber (CE 1708, 23 H 203-04).[1] Jones also spoke to Butler about liquor, narcotics, a "super-duper crap game," and slot machines (in which Jones admitted to having a Dallas business interest, Southwestern Amusement Co., with Dave Yaras' brother Sam Yaras, Buddy Satcher and Mark Lipsky of Chicago, and Nick de John).[2] The boys of Southwest Amusement estimated that the rackets in Dallas alone "would pay around $18 million a year." Using Dallas as a base, they then "took over coin machine and amusement companies in Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas."[3]

But the core of Jones' discussions with Butler seems to have been the impending Chicago Syndicate take-over of "the Nationwide wire service formerly operated by Ragen" (Pt. 5, 1180).

[1] At the time of the conversations, in October 1947, Hymie met Jones in Chicago's Sherman Hotel, a Syndicate hangout (Demaris, p. 129). Hymie was later a witness during Jones' narcotics trial in Laredo, Texas (Rubenstein Exh. 5, 21 H 320).

[2] Kefauver Hearings, Pt. 5, 1180-86; CE 1184, 22 H 301.

[3] McClellan Hearings, p. 12520.

"By having control of this service," Jones told Butler "they would have a good lever with which to pry further into profitable sources of income." Even in 1946 (when it was still losing money) the take of the wire service was "approximately $1,000,000 a week over the country" (p. 1179); and the Syndicate was in a position to offer the Sheriff in Dallas a "50-50 partnership" in which he "could make $150,000 a year, maybe more." (1180-81).

All this is a quite different picture from the report on the Jones-Butler discussions made to the Warren Commission in 1964 by the Dallas FBI, which talks uniquely of Jones' "trying to brite Guthrie to permit gambling in Dallas County," and "of the opening of a gambling establishment in the county, away from the city of Dallas" (CE 1709, 23 H 205). In this FBI Report, as in others and in the Warren Report, heavy reliance is again made on the dubious testimony of George Butler, "who was present during virtually all the conversations between Guthrie and Jones and who performed considerable investigative work on the case" (R793). Butler now told the FBI that Jack Ruby "did not arrive in Dallas until about a year after the Jones case 'was Made,' to the best of his recollection" (23 H 205), but a newspaper reporter, Morton Newman of the Chicago Daily News, claimed to have heard from Butler that "Ruby

was involved in [Jones'] attempt to bribe...Guthrie (CE 2887, 26 H 342).[1]

The Warren Commission chose to rely heavily on Butler's latest testimony (so different from that before the McClellan Committee), and chose also not to interview him. They thus did not learn why on December 9, 1963 he told two Dallas police officers that he "had information":

a) "that Lee Harvey Oswald was the illegitimate son of Jack Ruby"

b) "that Jack Ruby had applied for a visa to Mexico about the same time that Lee Harvey Oswald visited that country" (CE 2249, 25 H 166).

This "information" is suspiciously reminiscent of other conspiracy rumors at this time from orgainzed right-wing sources, like the Soldatenzeitung, Diaz Verson, and Jose Antonio Lanusa. It is therefore not surprising to learn from Penn Jones, editor of the Midlothian Mirror in Texas, that Butler was himself a right-winger:

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[1] For a fuller examination of these discrepancies, cf. Meagher, pp. 423-25. As she points out, the recordings of the bribe attempt (two of which were missing) had been kept by Butler at his private residence.

> Butler is a speaker for the right-wing anti-communist fighters. He was formerly head of the Policeman's Union in Dallas, and it is common talk that he is in the good graces of H. L. Hunt....During 1961, Butler made talks in Midlothian and on one such occasion he approached this writer in The Mirror offices and wanted to know if we would print a region wide KKK newspaper....His second statement was that half of the police force in Dallas were members of the KKK.[1]

Furthermore Lt. George Butler, by his own admission, "had known Jack Ruby for years" (CE 2002, 24 H 64). Four of his colleagues in the Criminal Investigation Division, Juvenile Bureau (Martin, Cutchshaw, Lowery, and Harrison) also admitted to knowing Ruby. "All five men were present in the police basement when Ruby shot Oswald. All of them except Butler were Commission witnesses" (Meagher, p. 425, emphasis added). Yet a newspaper reporter, Thayer Waldo of the Fort Worth Star-Telegram, had testified that Butler's "usual phlegmatic poise" had collapsed, and left him "an extremely nervous man," with "lips trembling", "just moments before Oswald was brought down." (15 H 595).

[1] Penn Jones, Forgive My Grief (Midlothian, Texas: The Midlothian Mirror, n.d. /1966/), pp. 160-61.

The misinformation supplied after the assassination by Butler and the Dallas FBI, and indeed the Warren Commission's failure to rectify these discrepancies, are themselves indications that the Syndicate's efforts at corrupting law enforcement officials in Dallas were not unsuccessful. Thus, while the Warren Report mentions Jones, it is silent about Marcus Lipsky, the big man in the 1946 Dallas operation, who "could mix in any company."[1] Lipsky, having started like Ruby in Syndicate-linked shake-down unions, incorporated L & P Milk in Chicago with Syndicate boss Ross Prio and Fred A. Romano, later an assistant state's attorney.[2] And Butler's "considerable investigative work" on the Jones case in 1947, which the Warren Report cites as evidence of Butler's reliability, suggests rather that his links to Ruby and the Syndicate may have been politically important in Dallas. Jones, after all, was fronting for the Chicago Syndicate in their efforts to move in on the national wire service. And it seems beyond question that, while Butler may have helped to trap Jones, the primary credit for frustrating the wire-service take-over should be given to the National Crime Syndicate itself.

As we have seen, Jones' partner, Nick de John, was killed in San Francisco on May 9, 1947: as a Mafia mark of derision,

[1] McClellan Hearings, p. 12510.

[2] Demaris, pp. 244-45.

a penny had been stuffed into De John's rectum.[1] A related slaying was that of Bugsy Siegel on June 20, 1947, ordered four days before by a meeting of Meyer Lansky, Albert Anastasia, and the top leaders of the National Crime Syndicate:

> When the Chicago Syndicate tried to muscle in on Continental Press, NCS's [the National Crime Syndicate] national wire service to bookie joints which had been built up into a monopoly by Moses Annenberg, Siegel aided the Chicago boys. The revolt was quickly quelled, despite newspaper talk of a gang war, but more than one syndicate leader was annoyed by Bugsy's attitude....As the member who had called the meeting, Lansky presided. He ticked off the complaints against Siegel beginning with his conduct during the 'wire-service war'...[2]

It was in this context of gangland retaliation against the Chicago rebels that Butler helped put away their representative Jones. Ruby survived, to become Butler's acquaintance of many years' standing.

Butler's later changes of story, his alleged extreme nervousness before the killing of Oswald, and his grotesque

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[1] Reid, The Grim Reapers, p. 197. Young District Attorney J. Edmund Brown and two police inspectors obtained indictments in the De John murder, but Brown, faced with a jury undecided after thirty hours deliberation, asked that the indictments be dismissed without prejudice. Brown went on to become Governor of California, and named as his state attorney general Tom Lynch, the prosecuting attorney in the de John case. Today Pat Brown is a law partner of Joseph A. Ball, assistant counsel to the Warren Commission. The two police inspectors, Frank Ahern and Thomas Cahill, were both promoted rapidly ahead of more senior police officers to become Chiefs of the San Francisco police.

[2] Hank Messick, Lansky (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1971), pp. 146, 150.

hints at a Ruby-Oswald conspiracy are all adequate reasons for the Commission to have questioned him closely. The Commission's failure to call him to testify is equally suspicious. All these phenomena suggest that Syndicate influence in Dallas did not end with the imprisonment of luckless Jones. Indeed Dallas would have become an unusual American city if such influence had ended. As Rufus King, who puts

~~But the discretion of Butler and the FBI should not amaze us. Rufus King, who puts~~ the current annual income to those controlling gambling at between $6 and $7 billion a year, has written ~~that~~

> It would be hard indeed to find a city or county government anywhere in the United States that does not have some suggestion of scandal, involving gamblers' money, somewhere in its recent history.[1]

The Commission's treatment of Ruby is like that of Oswald. While it devotes a whole page to a psychiatric report on Ruby at the age of eleven (R 781), it consistently belittles or ignores Ruby's links to convicted or indicted Syndicate killers like Jones, McWillie, Yaras and Patrick, even though Ruby is known to have been in touch with all of these men except Yaras in 1963. Nor does it explore the strong possibility that Jones' link to the racing wire service may have involved Ruby, even though it knew that Ruby once "sold a handicapper's tip sheet for horseraces at Santa Anita racetrack," near Los Angeles and later "at Bay Meadows racetrack" (R 786-87), near San Francisco. Santa Anita racetrack in particular was identified to the Kefauver Committee by witness John Roselli as a place tied by a direct wire into Ragen's Nationwide news service (Part 5, 399-400), and as a meeting-place for Syndicate men where he himself had met Tony Gizzo of Kansas City (p. 391). One of the parallels with the assassination of Robert Kennedy is that

[1]King., pp. 32-33.

Sirhan Sirhan, another confessed killer anxious to assert his solitary guilt, started his gambling career as a minor hanger-on around Santa Anita.[1]

Ruby's later connections with the Syndicate are too numerous to enumerate. Paul Jones himself told the FBI "that he last

[1]Godfrey Jansen, Why Robert Kennedy Was Killed (New York: Third Press, 1970), pp. 126, 116.

~~"Well-known syndicate labor headlums from Chicago, who in 1954 were found garroted in a car trunk.~~[1] ~~Jones also admitted "that he last~~ saw JACK RUBY about a week before the assassination of President KENNEDY" (22 H 302), and advised the FBI that, if Ruby had killed Oswald on orders, the man to talk to would be "JOE SAVELIA, whom he considers currently the head of 'syndicate' operations in Dallas" (22 H 303). This is the only reference I have uncovered in the Commission's 27 volumes to Joe Civello, the Dallas Syndicate chief, whose correct surname had been printed in the McClellan Hearings (e.g. p. 12269)[2] ~~has since been revealed with publication of The Valachi Papers.~~[3] It might appear that once again the Syndicate had been spared embarrassing interrogation, by the FBI's strategic inability to spell.

Ruby, the Report concedes (R369), also knew Russell Matthews, a gambler who worked in the Hotel Deauville casino under Batista and Castro. For some reason a call was made on October 3, 1963, from Ruby's Carousel Club to Matthews' former wife in Shreveport (R369, CE 2303, 26 H 241, 246). As to the content, the Report comments characteristically that ~~Matthews was not associated with Ruby in selling jeeps to Cuba~~ "No evidence has been uncovered that Matthews was associated [along with Ruby in] the sale of jeeps [to Cuba] or that he knew of Oswald" (R369-70). The reader would however prefer ~~evidence~~ confirmation that the call was unrelated to the assassination. There were rumors (CE 1586 ss), confirmed by some witnesses, that Ruby had visited the Syndicate's Tropicana and Stardust Hotels in Las Vegas, one month before the killings; and many other reports linking him to both big-time gambling and narcotics.

[1] Demaris, Captive City, p. 27.

[2] Cf. Peter Maas, The Valachi Papers (New York: Bantam, 1969), p. 265; cf. Life, Sept. 29, 1967, p. 25.

~~The Rev. Elmer Williams wrote that Zangara had been employed in a Syndicate 'cutting plant' in Florida 'convenient to a canal where whisky was run in from the islands.' Williams then theorized that Zangara got into trouble with his bosses and was ordered to kill Cermak. It was either that or be tortured and murdered himself. He allegedly chose the lesser of two evils.~~[1]

~~It is a theory that can easily be postulated with respect to Ruby himself.~~

With respect to Ruby's underworld activities, the Report further concedes that "In 1959 [Ruby] visited Cuba at the invitation and expense of Lewis McWillie, a professional gambler" (R801). A 1959 Oklahoma City Police Report (unrelated to the assassination investigation) had called ~~Another FBI report, in passing, calls~~ McWillie, who had at least three aliases, a "gambler and murderer" (CE 1693, 23 H 166), yet Ruby "idolized McWillie" (5 H 201). McWillie had also called himself a "close friend" of Ruby (CE 1697, 23 H 170) and had known him for years. In 1959, when he extended his Cuban invitation to Ruby ("as one would to a brother"), McWillie was manager of the Tropicana Casino in Havana; in 1963, when McWillie had Ruby send him a pistol and later spoke to him twice by telephone, McWillie was working at the Thunderbird Hotel in Las Vegas.

Both the FBI and the Commission failed to explore the alleged links between McWillie's employers, in Havana and in Las Vegas, with Meyer Lansky, said to be the Syndicate's chief gambling representative in England and the Bahamas.[1] The FBI reported McWillie's claim that the Tropicana "was Cuban owned" (23 H 170); but the Commission had

[1] Demaris, pp. 120, 118.

[2] Atlantic (July 1970), pp. 62-69.

already heard from Ruby its biggest owners were the American brothers Fox, "the greatest that have been expelled from Cuba" (5 H 206). The Commission in turn accepted McWillie's word that Ruby went to Cuba at his invitation ("He...felt that Ruby needed a rest"); and Counsel Rankin changed the subject when Ruby started to explain how it was the Fox brothers (plus their lawyer who was "killed in a taxi in New York") who first came to visit Ruby in Dallas for help in collecting a bad gambling debt (5 H 205-06).

By reading the papers, the Commission could have learned that another owner of the Tropicana Casino was Norman Rothman; in the Batista era Rothman had played both sides in Cuban politics, helping to smuggle arms illegally to Castro while he maintained his stake in Cuba's slot machines with Batista's brother-in-law Roberto Fernandez y Miranda.[1] Cuban gun-running and Cuban slot machines were both Syndicate activities; and indeed the Tropicana (worth $6 million) was one of the many casinos in Havana said to be in the sphere of Louis Santo Trafficante, Jr., (alias Louis Santos), "the Florida boss and the overlord of the Cosa Nostra gambling interests in pre-Castro Cuba."[2] Trafficante in turn is said to have been a "business associate" in Cuba of Meyer Lansky, the "boss" behind the Havana and Chicago properties of the National Cuban Hotel Corporation.[3]

Meyer Lansky's name does not appear in the 26 volumes of the Warren Hearings; and I know of nothing that might link him or any other Syndicate figure to the Dallas shootings. Yet it is undeniable that

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[1] Jack Anderson, "How Castro Double-Crossed the Gambling Syndicate," Parade, Oakland Tribune, April 28, 1963, p. 4.

[2] Peter Maas, The Valachi Papers (New York: Bantam, 1969), p. 265.

[3] TT, Oct. 18, 1963, p. 40; Lewaris, Captive City, p. 213.

many of the snarled and apparently disparate threads from the assassination story lead into the dark surrounding Lansky's operations. This is the case on the local level -- of Ruby, Oswald, the Russian community, Ferrie, Ruby and the mysterious address of 544 Camp Street. It is also the case on the national level, with respect to Kennedy's Cuban and Latin American policies, with respect to the developing Bobby Baker and TFX-General Dynamics scandals, and with respect to such apparently unrelated matters as the disciplining of Otto Otepka. It is even, unfortunately, true of Jim Garrison. The more one studies Jack Ruby's underworld associates, the more one gains a perspective in which all of these various stories can be coherently related.

Let us begin by investigating the background in 1963 of Ruby's close friend McWillie (who did not testify before the Commission).[1] For most of this year he was employed by the Thunderbird Hotel in Las Vegas -- another fief in the far-flung Lansky empire.[2] Two weeks before the assassination, the New York Times revealed that Bobby Baker had interceded with Pan Am on behalf of Clifford A. Jones, a former Democratic National Committeeman and Lieutenant-Governor of Nevada who "had known Mr. Baker for many years".[3] Mr. Jones, the Times recalled, had once had an interest in a Havana casino gambling operation under Castro (unspecified), and now owned part of the stock of the Thunder-

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[1] The Commission did however "talk" to Mr. McWillie, according to an unexplained answer to Jack Ruby. "Mr. RUBY:...Did you all talk to Mr. McWillie? I'm sure you have. VOICE. Yes" (5 H 201).

[2] Ed Reid and Ovid Demaris, The Green Felt Jungle (New York: Trident, 1963) pp. 141, 147. Meyer Lansky's brother Jake has paid income tax on revenue from the Thunderbird.

[3] NYT, Nov. 7, 1963, p. 22.

bird Hotel in Las Vegas. Ten years earlier Jones had been accused by Nevada State officials of holding interests "in the Thunderbird Hotel as an agent of George Sadlo, an intimate of Meyer Lansky and his brother".[1] (Jones had been cleared by the Nevada Supreme Court).

Mr. Jones, along with the much more prominent Vegas gambler Ed Levinson (Baker's partner in his controversial Serv-U corporation) had been introduced at the request of Baker to the President of Pan Am's Intercontinental Hotels Corp., who controlled the choice of management for the hotels' profitable casinos in the Dominican Republic and other parts of the Caribbean. Baker's underworld connections, with Jones of the Thunderbird, with Ed Levinson of the Fremont, and with a gambler in the Dominican Republic[2] where Lansky was also said to have interests, were being aired to the world with the consent of the Kennedy political apparatus; and it was suggested by many observers (notably Richard Nixon in Dallas one day before the assassination) that such exposes might soon lead to Lyndon Johnson's not being re-nominated as Vice-President in 1964.

But it is equally important to the assassination story to keep in mind that Clifford Jones of the Thunderbird Hotel, like Vail Pittman his successor as Democratic National Committeeman from Nevada, were key surviving figures in the political machine of the late Senator Pat McCarran, a leading lobbyist in his day for ~~[illegible]~~ the oil lobby, Pan Am, and above all the China Lobby. McCarran has also been called the "gamblers' senator".

[1] Ibid., cf. Reid and Demaris, 132-46.

[2] Bernard Allen, cf. NYT, Dec. 18, 1963, p. 20.

SITTING IN COURT AT THE RIVERSIDE HOTEL IN RENO (WHERE MCWILLIE LATER WORKED AS CLUB MANAGER), MCCARRAN IS SAID TO HAVE MADE DEALS FOR SYNDICATE MEN WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS TO OBTAIN LICENSES, AND "WATCHED [THE GAMBLERS'] INTERESTS AS IF THEY WERE HIS CHILDREN, WHICH IN A SENSE THEY WERE".[1]

MCCARRAN'S SUCCESSOR BOTH AS SENATOR FROM NEVADA AND IN THE SENATE'S AVIATION SUBCOMMITTEE WAS SENATOR HOWARD CANNON, A MAN WHO ADMITTED BEING "FRIENDLY WITH MR. BAKER" BUT WHO SAW NOTHING WRONG IN PARTICIPATING IN THE SENATE RULES COMMITTEE'S INVESTIGATION OF THE BAKER SCANDALS.[2] ONE WEEK BEFORE THE ASSASSINATION, IT WAS REVEALED THAT BAKER HAD CHARTERED A RIDDLE AIRLINES PLANE TO FLY WASHINGTON POLITICIANS AND LOBBYISTS TO A FUND-RAISING DINNER FOR CANNON IN LAS VEGAS.[3]

IT WOULD APPEAR THAT BOTH RUBY AND MCWILLIE HAD LONG-LIVED CONNECTIONS WITH THE OLD DALLAS SYNDICATE GANG - "THE SOUTHLAND HOTEL GROUP" - OF L.B. "BENNY THE COWBOY" BINION,[4] WHO BY 1963 HAD MOVED TO LAS VEGAS. (IN THAT YEAR HIS SON JACK WAS THE LARGEST SHAREHOLDER OF LAS VEGAS' HORSESHOE CLUB- AFTER BOBBY BAKER'S BUSINESS PARTNER ED LEVINSON.)[5] MCWILLIE'S INCOME

[1] ED REID, THE GRIM REAPERS (CHICAGO: HENRY REGNERY, 1969), P. 219; WALLACE TURNER, GAMBLERS' MONEY: THE NEW FORCE IN AMERICAN LIFE (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.: HOUGHTON MIFFLIN, 1965), PP. 10, 274.

[2] NYT, NOV. 7, 1963, P. 22. SENATOR CANNON'S INTERVENTIONS IN THE QUESTIONING OF GAMBLERS LEVINSON AND SIEGELBAUM MAKE HIM SOUND LIKE AN ADDITIONAL COUNSEL FOR THE WITNESSES.

[3] NEWSDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 1963.

[4] REID AND DEMARIS, GREEN FELT JUNGLE, P. 185.

[5] REID AND DEMARIS, P. 236. LEVINSON HELD 27.5% OF THE STOCK; BINION, 25%.

TAX RETURNS SHOW THAT IN 1942 HE WAS EMPLOYED BY BINION AND THE SOUTHLAND HOTEL, AS WELL AS BY BINION'S KNOWN GAMBLING-JOINT ASSOCIATES EARL DALTON AND IVY MILLER (CE 1692, 23 H 163, KEFAUVER HEARINGS, PT. 2, P. 194). A FOURTH ASSOCIATE WITH THESE MEN WAS A J.C. ADAMS III; TWENTY YEARS LATER, A BUSINESS CARD WITH THE WORDS "ADAMS INVEST. COMPANY, J.C. ADAMS" WAS FOUND AMONG RUBY'S PERSONAL EFFECTS (CE 1322, 22 H 510).

FROM 1943 TO 1950 MCWILLIE WORKED FOR DALTON AND MILLER AT A CLUB IN ARLINGTON, TEXAS, THEN STILL IN OPEN COUNTRY MIDWAY BETWEEN THE EXPANDING CITIES OF DALLAS AND FORT WORTH. APPARENTLY ARLINGTON had become A FAVORED REGION FOR GAMBLING ACTIVITY, IN PART BECAUSE IT LAY OUTSIDE THE JURISDICTION OF CITY POLICE FORCES, BUT MORE SPECIFICALLY BECAUSE OF THE ARLINGTON DOWNS RACE TRACK THERE DEVELOPED BY THE W.T. WAGGONER FAMILY.[1] As we have seen, ~~LATER WE SHALL HAVE MORE TO SAY ABOUT ARLINGTON, BECAUSE~~ THE RACE TRACK AND WAGGONER ESTATE ~~THESE~~ WERE EVENTUALLY SOLD TO A WYNNE-ZECKENDORF-LOEB RHOADES REAL ESTATE GROUP -- GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP. - ~~WHICH BUILT THE~~ WHOSE INN OF THE SIX FLAGS BECAME MARINA'S HIDING PLACE AFTER THE ASSASSINATION). IN 1963 MCWILLIE WAS WORKING AT THE THUNDERBIRD IN LAS VEGAS FOR BUSINESS ASSOCIATES OF BINION'S SON JACK; WHILE RUBY WAS FINANCED IN HIS CAROUSEL CLUB BY ARLINGTON RESTAURANT OWNER RALPH PAUL (R334). PAUL HAD FORMERLY RUN THE BLUE BONNET BAR IN J.C. ADAMS' BLUE BONNET HOTEL (21 H 33); NOW, IN CONJUNCTION WITH RUBY'S BROTHER SAM, HE ALSO RAN AN ICE CREAM PARLOR IN THE WYNNE FAMILY'S WYNNEWOOD

[1] NYT, Dec. 12, 1950, p. 34.

SHOPPING CENTER (14 H 498).[1] AND RUBY WAS SAID BY MORE THAN ONE INFORMANT TO HAVE KNOWN BINION'S FRIEND MICKEY COHEN (CE 1755, 23 H 366, CE 1228, 22 H 336).

WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THAT MARINA'S FRIEND, INTERPRETER, AND BUSINESS AGENT, KATYA FORD, ALONG WITH HER FIRST HUSBAND STANLEY SKOTNICKI, HAD BEEN INCLUDED IN A LIST OF WHAT COMMISSION COUNSEL RANKIN CALLED "ASSOCIATES OR FRIENDS OR PEOPLE THAT MR. RUBY /SUPPOSEDLY/ KNEW AND ASSOCIATED WITH CLOSELY" (1 H 239, CF. 1 H 436). SOMEHOW THE COMMISSION HAD ALSO ACQUIRED INFORMATION, CONFIRMED BY MRS. FORD, THAT HER FIRST HUSBAND STANLEY SKOTNICKI HAD "A FRIEND BY THE NAME OF JOHN M. GRIZZAFFI" (2 H 296). MRS. FORD HAD HEARD FROM HER SON GARY SKOTNICKI "THAT MR. GRIZZAFFI KNEW RUBY" (2 H 296), AND MR. FORD HAD HEARD THE SAME, THOUGH "I DON'T KNOW HOW WELL HE KNOWS HIM" (2 H 323). THOUGH THERE IS NO JOHN GRIZZAFFI IN THE DALLAS TELEPHONE BOOK, THIS NAME WAS INDEED FOUND AMONG RUBY'S EFFECTS (CE 1322, 22 H 503). WHY THEN DID THE COMMISSION, HAVING ✓ ACQUIRED THIS PROMISING PIECE OF HEARSAY, CEASE ALL FURTHER QUESTIONS ABOUT EITHER STANLEY SKOTNICKI (A REAL ESTATE AGENT) OR "JOHN M. GRIZZAFFI"? THEY THUS FAILED TO ESTABLISH PUBLICLY WHETHER OR NOT THE LATTER WAS IDENTICAL WITH THE "LITTLE JOHNNY GRISSAFFI" WHO HAD BEEN IDENTIFIED BY THE LATE HERB NOBLE AS ONE OF THE TWO HOODLUMS WHO WITH LOIS GREEN TRIED TO KILL HIM ON ORDERS FROM BENNY BINION OF LAS VEGAS.[2] IT SEEMS LIKELY HE

[1] DURING WORLD WAR II SAM RUBY WAS IN ARMY INTELLIGENCE.

[2] REID AND DEMARIS, GREEN FELT JUNGLE, P. 191.

was, and that the Commission knew this, since it was clearly interested in Lois Green. The Commission went out of its way to hear from Ruby's sister that she did not know Lois Green personally, only by reputation ("The conversation was great about him...he was with the rough element," 14 H 452-53). But inasmuch as Ruby's links with the Syndicate, now quite apparent, were the subject of inquiry, he rather than his sister should have been asked this question. Apparently he was not.

This apparent lack of normal curiosity suggests that the Commission had already learned the connections between Ruby and the Syndicate, and was concerned to avoid publicizing such a damaging alternative to the theory that Ruby "acted alone". That a federal Commission would seek to cover up the "small peanut" Ruby's gambling and Syndicate connections is consistent with, and no less surprising than, the FBI's inability to spell the names of capomafiosi. There is evidence to suggest that the full story of Ruby's associates would have been embarrassing, not only to the Syndicate, but also to Dallas law enforcement authorities and also the FBI itself.

~~Numerous witnesses testified to the close relations between Ruby and members of the Dallas police force, includ-~~ ~~ing the Army Counterintelligence officer Joseph Cody (CE 1736, 23 H 344),~~

VI HOOVER AND THE DEL CHARRO

Numerous witnesses testified to the close relations between Ruby and members of the Dallas police force, including Army Counterintelligence officer Joseph Cody (CE 1736, 23 H 344), and the aforementioned George Butler who "had known Jack Ruby for years" (CE 2002, 24 H 69). From the police affidavits submitted to the Commission (CE 2002) it has been calculated that, "of the 75 or so policemen who were present when Oswald was killed, at least 40 knew Ruby" (Meagher, p. 423); yet seventeen of these, including Butler, were not asked to testify.

Three independent reports, one of them dating from seven years before the assassination, suggest that Ruby was in fact a pay-off or liaison man between organized crime activities and the Dallas police department. ~~Back in 1956~~ The Los Angeles FBI had advised the Dallas FBI of one of these reports, ~~back in 1959~~ from a Mr. and Mrs. James Breen, "acting...as informants for the Federal Narcotics Bureau." Mrs. Breen had been told by her husband "he had made connection with large narcotics setup operating between Mexico, Texas and the East....In some fashion James got the okay to operate through Jack Ruby of Dallas" (CE 1761, 23 H 369).[1] After the assassination a prisoner in an Alabama gaol told the FBI that one

[1] Mrs. Breen, interviewed in June 1964 by the Chicago FBI, confirmed her previous story. She added that when the Dallas Statler Hilton Hotel officially opened in 1955-56, two prostitutes working for her "took up residence in the hotel with the knowledge of certain hotel employees," whose names she refused to divulge (CE 1792, 23 H 371). Later we shall have more to say about the underworld connections of the Hilton Hotel chain, of which Henry Crown was a director. James Herbert Martin, we have already noted, was until 1962 an employee of the Statler Hilton in Dallas.

year earlier he had tried to set up a numbers game in Dallas; "he was advised...that in order to operate in Dallas it was necessary to have the clearance of JACK RUBY" who "had the 'fix' with the county authorities" (CE 1963, 23 H 372). The Commission declined to interview these persons; and instead wrote that it "found no evidence of any suspicious relationships between Ruby and any police officer" (R 224).

A third informant, also a prisoner (in Los Angeles), made contact after the assassination with the Secret Service, who reported that his previous "information in many cases had been reliable" (CE 1753, 23 H 362). The informant, Harry Hall, was isolated in a Los Angeles reformatory, yet he corroborated an independent FBI report about Ruby's connections with a Solly Schuman or Schulman in San Francisco (CE 1289, 22 H 426). His account, which thus has more credibility than the others, depicts Ruby as a man who with Hall once bet H. L. Hunt on the Cotton Bowl and Rose Bowl games, winning a large sum of money (CE 1753, 23 H 363). Ruby took 40% of Hall's gambling profits, because Ruby "was supposed to have influence with the police, so that he [Hall] would have no worry about any gambling arrest" (23 H 363).[1]

Hall said he and Ruby also knew "a Texas millionaire named Bill Byers, who came from Tyre, Texas, who was friendly with two other Texas millionaires named Murchison and Andrady". Ruby had wanted Hall to help rob "Byers" of his bankroll, and Hall heard later "that Byers was robbed while at the Del Charro Hotel, La Jolla, California. This hotel is owned by Mr. Murchison" (23 H 363). This "Bill Byers" from "Tyre" would appear to be the Texas oil millionaire Billie Byars from Tyler, Texas, who (along with Clint Murchison, J. Edgar Hoover's close friends, and George S. Allen) secretly underwrote the extensive farm bills of President Eisenhower and his brother-in-law Col. Gordon Moore.[1] Billie Byars, like Murchison and Bedford Wynne in short, was a political sugar-daddy for the Texas oil lobby. Other sources confirm that Byars, like Cain, did frequent the Del Charro.

Though this story could have been easily checked, it would have been a delicate matter for the FBI to investigate Ruby's gambling connections with H.L. Hunt and the Murchison circle. J. Edgar Hoover, a confirmed devotee of horse races, was "quite simpatico with Texas tycoon Clint Murchison, usually spending his annual vacation at a Murchison motel [the Del Charro][2] at La Jolla, California," near the Murchison race track at Del Mar.[3] One suspects that, if the FBI had investigated the Murchisons, they would have fared no better than in their report on "Mr. LARMAR HUNT...whose name appeared as 'LAMAR HUNT' in a book

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[1] The Secret Service took this report seriously. Its Los Angeles Special Agent in Charge dictated the report himself, then went to Dallas with Hall's information the next day. Yet there is no sign that either the FBI (who sat in on Hall's interrogation) or the Warren Commission followed up on the matter.

[1] Jack Anderson, Washington Exposé (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1967), pp. 214-16.

[2] William Turner, Hoover's FBI: The Men and the Myth (Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, 1970), p. 81.

[3] Fred J. Cook, The FBI Nobody Knows (New York: Pyramid, 1964), p. 230. Hoover, once asked about the manner in which horse racing was conducted at Murchison's Del Mar track, replied that he himself went to horse races every Saturday if possible and that Del Mar's charity racing contribution to boys' clubs "helps directly in making the nation sturdy, for Communist penetration is currently directed mainly at labor organizations and youth organizations." "From a law-enforcement standpoint," Hoover added, "a well-conducted racetrack is a help to a community if only for the reason that the people at the track are finding an outlet for their emotions."

WHICH WAS THE PROPERTY OF JACK RUBY" (CE 2400, 25 H 381). "LARMAR HUNT" WAS INDEED LAMAR HUNT, THE SON OF H.L. HUNT; AND RUBY ADMITTEDLY DROVE TO LAMAR'S OFFICE THE DAY BEFORE THE ASSASSINATION (R368); BUT THESE FACTS WERE APPARENTLY UNKNOWN TO THE FBI AND LATER EXPLAINED AWAY BY THE COMMISSION.

THE FACT IS THAT HOOVER'S LINKS WITH CLINT MURCHISON ARE NOT ONLY PERSONAL, BUT POLITICAL. THEIR FRIENDSHIP GOES BACK TO THE EARLY 1950'S, WHEN CLINT MURCHISON'S MONEY HELPED MCCARTHY DEFEAT HIS ENEMIES IN THE SENATE: SENATORS TYDINGS OF MARYLAND (IN 1950) AND WILLIAM BENTON OF CONNECTICUT (IN 1952).[1] AT THIS TIME "ALMOST ALL OF /MCCARTHY'S/ INVESTIGATORS...WERE FORMER SPECIAL AGENTS OF THE FBI"[2]; AND SOME OF THESE USED THE MCCARTHY INVESTIGATIONS AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO PURSUE THE FBI'S LONG-STANDING FEUD WITH THE CIA.[3] ACCORDING TO FBI VETERAN WILLIAM TURNER "FBI AGENTS PUT IN LONG HOURS POURING OVER BUREAU SECURITY FILES AND ABSTRACTING THEM FOR ROY COHN, MCCARTHY'S CHIEF INQUISITOR."[4] IT SEEMS NO COINCIDENCE THAT IN 1952 HOOVER VOICED PUBLIC PRAISE FOR HIS "FRIEND" JOE MCCARTHY ("I'VE COME TO KNOW HIM WELL, OFFICIALLY AND PERSONALLY") WHILE "THE TWO MEN WERE STAYING AT THE SAME SEASIDE HOTEL IN LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA"-- I.E., THE DEL CHARRO.[5] ~~Hoover's annual rendez-vous with Texas oilmen~~

[illegible]

[1] THEODORE H. WHITE, "TEXAS: LAND OF WEALTH AND FEAR," REPORTER (MAY 25, 1954), P. 16.

[2] HARVEY MATUSOW, FALSE WITNESS (NEW YORK: CAMERON AND KAHN, 1955), P. 210.

[3] LYMAN KIRKPATRICK, THE REAL CIA.

[4] TURNER, P. 195.

[5] INTERVIEW WITH J. EDGAR HOOVER IN SAN DIEGO EVENING TRIBUNE, QUOTED IN COOK, THE FBI NOBODY KNOWS, P. 422. MCCARTHY IN THOSE DAYS WAS LIKE HOOVER A FREQUENT RECIPIENT OF MURCHISON HOSPITALITY, [illegible]

J. Edgar Hoover's California holidays with the Murchisons lasted into the Kennedy Administration. They would deserve a Congressional inquiry even if it could be established that they had no relationship whatever to associates of the Syndicate or to the President's murder. It is indeed a disturbing symptom of our society that the Director of the FBI could with impunity "allow Clint Murchison to pay his California health-resort bills at a time when the Murchisons were under FBI investigation in connection with the Bobby Baker case."[1] Hoover's close ally Richard Nixon has done no more to expose this relationship than Hoover's close ally Lyndon Johnson. But then, it is said that Richard Nixon himself has been visited the del Charro, which has been regularly visited by Nixon's powerful financial backer, C. Arnholt Smith.

Another of Hoover's extra-curricular alliances is wholly undisguised: his service "on the Board of the Hertz family foundation while exercising discretion over how many FBI men to assign to interstate auto thefts."[2] Hertz was a long time business associate of Henry Crown and Lehman Brothers; Hoover's fellow Board members have included Robert Lehman of United Fruit, George E. Allen (the friend of Eisenhower and Billie Byars), Edward Teller, Floyd B. Odlum of the post-war World Commerce Corp., and Johnson's powerful financial backer Edwin L. Weisl (whose American News Company has also been accused of links to organized crime.)[3]

[1] Victor Navasky, Kennedy Justice (New York: Atheneum, 1971), p. 30.

[2] Navasky, p. 30.

[3] Reid, The Grim Reapers, pp. 193-95; cf. Scott, The War Conspiracy, pp. 000,000.

Ed Hoover's annual rendezvous with Texas oilmen at the Del Charro is said by other sources to have involved others not only in the Dallas but men with direct links to the Syndicate. Jack Anderson has recently written that "The late Clint Murchison picked up Hoover's tab ($100-a-day-suites) year after year at the... del Charro near their favorite race track...at the same time some of the nation's most notorious gamblers and racketeers have been registered there."[1]

Meyer Lansky's lieutenant, Ed Levinson, a former gambler from Newport, who knew Murchison through Baker, is said to have been one of the frequent visitors at the annual get-togethers. William Turner further charges that Hoover's contacts during these California junkets were not merely with oilmen like Clint Murchison, Sr. ("perhaps Hoover's closest friend") who had Syndicate contacts, but directly with businessmen who had grown rich from Mafia-dominated enterprises:

[1] San Francisco Chronicle, Dec. 31, 1970, p. 25; confirming Turner, p. 61. Others have claimed that these bills were far more extensive than one might normally expect, amounting in one case to some $23,000. It is said that these unusual and dubious links between Hoover and the Del Charro-Murchison set had come to the attention of Life magazine in 1963; a story was prepared and, it was expected, would soon be published. After the assassination the story was killed, but not before other journalists had seen it.

> On his California swings, Hoover socializes with Alfred Hart, now President of the City National Bank of Beverley Hills. Hart was in the liquor business. At one time he was an executive of Gold Seal Liquors of Chicago, which was cited by the Kefauver Crime Committee as mob-dominated by, among others, /Capone's "messenger boy"/ Charles ("Cherry Nose") Gioe. [1]

Of the ten leading shareholders in Hart's bank in 1964, four (Hart, his lawyer C. H. Palmer, Lou Golan, and Alex Greenberg's partner Benjamin Rosenberg) were named in the Kefauver Hearings. Hart's business dealings interlock more than once with those of Henry Crown, a major Democratic contributor and the leading shareholder of General Dynamics in 1963, who was once associated with Hart and another of his bank directors as a director of Columbia Pictures. And Henry Crown in turn was a friend, and allegedly an associate in corrupt land deals, with Jack Ruby's old political boss Jake Arvey of the 24th Ward.[2]

The Del Charro is a small, out-of-the-way motel: any conclave there is an intimate one. Is it too much to conclude that Hoover and the FBI had a stake in stifling the

[1] William Turner, Hoover's FBI, p. 180; cf. Ovid Demaris, Captive City, p. 224; Reid, Grim Reapers, p. 176; Kefauver Hearings, Part 5, 59355. Hart later had as business partner in his Los Angeles liquor distributorship State Senator Ralph E. Swing who figured in the Artie Samish lobby scandal of the early 1950's. (Kefauver Hearings, Part 10,pp. 1134-39;Turner, p. 80.) Hart was also a co-director of Columbia Pictures with Donald S. Stralem, trustee of a CIA-conduit foundation (Farfield Foundation, alias Fairfield Foundation) and a fellow-director of Sylvan Coleman of General Dynamics, Petroleum Corp. of America, and American Home Assurance.

[2] Demaris, Captive City, p. 230; Kenneth Lamott, The Moneymakers (Boston: Little Brown, 1969), p. 65.

inquiry into Del Charro patrons Bobby Baker and Ed Levinson? A Justice Department organized crime section lawyer once complained to the New York Times of the dramatic impact of the Kennedy assassination on the FBI's attitude towards the Bobby Baker case:

> The next day we stopped getting information from the FBI on the Bobby Baker investigation. Within a month the FBI men in the field wouldn't tell us anything. We started running out of gas. [1]

According to William Turner, the FBI's clamp-down on the Bobby Baker inquiry was only a prelude to its abandonment of the stepped-up investigation ordered by Bobby Kennedy into the overall operations of organized crime.[2] And Hoover is said to have removed, on the day of the assassination itself, the "hot line" telephone to the Attorney General's office that had been placed there by order of his boss and enemy, Robert F. Kennedy.[3]

It is certain that the Bobby Baker investigation threatened Murchison, the Syndicate, and Hoover. It was above all a matter of increasing embarrassment to Baker's patron Lyndon Johnson, and to those profiting from the oil depletion allowance, including Johnson's patron Clint Murchison, Jr.,

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[1] NYT, as quoted in Turner, p. 185.

[2] Turner, p. 185

[3] Turner, p. 102, quoting Newsweek.

a personal friend of Bobby Baker. (On November 8, 1963, Governor Brown of California revealed that Murchison and Baker had visited him together to lobby against legislation which would have broken the Murchison family's control over the leasing of the Del Mar race track.)[1]

The Baker investigation was also a matter of increasing embarrassment to the Syndicate. For the Serv-U vending company which originally brought Bobby's wheeling and dealing to the attention of Senate investigators was originally owned to the extent of 27% by Ed Levinson (the partner of Meyer Lansky, Cliff Jones, and later Jack Binion) and Levinson's associate Benny Sigelbaum.[2] In fact the Las Vegas gamblers had made by far the largest investment in Serv-U. Baker and his friend Fred Black, Jr., a Washington lobbyist for North American Aviation and other aerospace industries,[3] bought their stock for $1 a share; the gamblers paid approximately $16. Levinson was however content to leave operation of the company to Baker, his brother, and his wife Dorothy, who also had dealings with Otepka through her job

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[1] NYT, Nov. 9, 1963, p. 5. Baker claimed that the meeting had been set up by Lyndon Johnson, but Brown denied this. Murchison later told the Senate Rules Committee he had only met Baker six times, but he indicated closer relations between Baker and his employees. (Baker Hearings, p. 893). One of these employees, Robert Thompson, testified that he "thought" he first met Bobby Baker "in the office of Lyndon Johnson."

[2] NYT, June 17, 1964.

[3] Turner, p. 322.

as records manager for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

In other words the crackdown on Bobby Baker threatened simultaneously the influence of corrupt elements in the Democratic party, of big Texas oilmen like the Murchisons and finally of the Syndicate. The same was true of Robert Kennedy's prosecution and conviction of Jimmy Hoffa, president of the Teamsters, whose pension funds had helped finance many of the big Las Vegas casinos, including $4.6 million for Ed Levinson's Fremont Hotel.[1] Clint Murchison, Jr., tried to persuade the Senate Rules Committee that his own real estate dealings with Jimmy Hoffa in Florida were "hardly relevant" to the Baker investigation.[2] But this is unlikely, since the Teamsters were linked not only to the Syndicate in Las Vegas and to Levinson but through Levinson to Baker. Levinson for example

> was a stockholder with Baker in the Waikiki Savings & Loan Association in Honolulu. The other members were Cliff Jones, and his law partner, Louis Weiner; Edward Barrick, a point owner in the Flamingo, Fremont, and Horseshoe; Mike Singer, a labor racketeer and former business agent of Teamsters Local 626 in Los Angeles; Morris (Moe) Genser... later indicted for bribery, grand theft, extortion, and assorted other offenses; and Fred Black, Jr.[3]

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[1] Turner, Gambler's Money, p. 251.

[2] Baker Hearings, p. 895.

[3] Demaris and Reid, The Green Felt Jungle (New York: Cardinal, 1964), p. 218.

Even if one knew nothing about their secret conclaves at the Del Charro motel, it would still be apparent that in late 1963 the Murchisons, Teamsters, Syndicate and the FBI shared a common economic stake and political alliance against the investigative onslaught of Bobby Kennedy. In Washington this alliance worked through the same lobbying connections: men like those involved in the pay-off by Murchison lawyers Bedford Wynne and Thomas Webb to Bobby Baker. Thomas Webb was himself involved with Bobby Baker in a land development loan from the Teamsters Central States Pension Fund (CSPF), whose land speculations also involved the Murchisons and their Washington lobbyist Irving I. Davidson.[1] One can therefore reasonably ask whether the Wynne family (prominent in southern land speculations) had not sought and perhaps obtained similar financial assistance.

It is certain that, in 1963, the Pension Fund made a disastrous and economically inexplicable loan to the failing real estate firm Webb and Knapp, of which Loeb Rhoades partner Robert B. Anderson (an old Murchison ally) was a director:

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[1] Ralph and Estelle James, Hoffa and the Teamsters (Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1965), pp. 275-77.

Webb and Knapp had turned in a record $19,625,151 deficit in 1962, was in arrears on a $10 million loan from the Prudential Life Insurance Company, and on rental payments for its many leased hotels. During the preceding year the price of its common stock had declined 70 per cent, as compared with a 40 percent rise in the stock market as a whole. Leading financial analysts saw bankruptcy as imminent. Its cash position extremely weak, the company was forced to pay 20 per cent interest or 50 per cent equity for funds. It was desperately trying to dispose of minor properties in public auctions (with little success) and was privately selling major properties at a loss. Yet, the CSPF trustees saw fit to grant Webb and Knapp the largest loan it has ever made -- $25 million at only 6¼ per cent -- to refinance short-term high-interest-rate loans. Webb and Knapp was declared bankrupt in 1965.[1]

[illegible] made Esquire pointed out one reason for Webb and Knapp's weak cash position was that large amount of capital it had been tied up without return in the Great Southwest Corporation.[2] Seven years later, a Congressional Committee staff report would pinpoint a $52 million investment in the Great Southwest Corp. (plus $30 million in the Arvida Corp., another Loeb Rhoades investment) as a major reason for the bankruptcy of the Penn Central Railroad, the largest

[1] James and James, p. 250.

[2] Esquire, May 1963, p. 121: "It is...likely...that failure was built in when he /Zeckendorf/ got beyond a city's lines. Very little has happened to 5,000 acres between Fort Worth and Dallas."

bankruptcy in the history of U. S. capitalism and indeed of the world.[1] The Report found that "The disastrous PRR /Pennsylvania Railroad/ non-railroad investment program was mapped to a large extent by Charles J. Hodge;" Emma Hodge was Penn Central's principal investment adviser and a senior Glore Forgan partner who was a director with Angus Wynne of both the Great Southwest Corp. and the Arvida Corp.

By 1963 the board of the Great Southwest Corporation reflected associations with unorthodox sources of capital. Perhaps the board's most mysterious member was Ezra

[1] U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Banking and Currency, The Penn Central Failure and the Role of Financial Institutions, Staff Report, Part I, 91st Cong., 2nd Sess., November 2, 1970, p. 5.

K. Zilkha, New York representative of the international Zilkha family bank. From the humble origins of Ezra's father Khedoury Zilkha in Bagdad, the Zilkha family has spread to acquire outlets or affiliates in Paris, London, Alexandria, Caracas, Montreal and Hong Kong.[1] The Zilkha family was not infrequently associated with "hot" money, dubious stock speculations and even the Syndicate. Abdullah Zilkha, Ezra's brother in Paris, loaned a million dollars at high interest to Alexander Guterma, the Russian-born stock manipulator and hired publicist for Trujillo[2] whose dealings led to indictments for himself (convicted), Virgil Dardi (a business associate of Meyer Lansky, Jr. convicted) and three members of the Desert Inn group in Las Vegas (Irving Pasternak, Samuel S. Garfield and Allard Roen, of whom more shortly).[3] / The Desert Inn group had become associated with Guterma in the purchase of an oil company, Handridge Oil, from the Murchison family, at about the time that Guterma arranged his high-interest loan from Abdullah Zilkha. At the heart of the Desert Inn group was Moe Dalitz, a former Cleveland gambler and bootlegger said to have been associated with both Jimmy Hoffa and Meyer Lansky.

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[1] NYT, July 1, 1956. This was not the first association of the Wynnes and Murchisons with Paris merchant bankers. In 1943 American Liberty Oil had employed Francois de Gunzbourg, a young representative of the Banque Seligman-Louis Hirsch in Paris. Eleven years later Francois de Gunzbourg returned to America and opened an office in the same New York building as Ezra Zilkha; he then participated with Air America interests in the acquisition of Alaskan Airlines by a Loeb-Rhoades syndicate. One member of this syndicate, as we shall see, was Nixon's patron Donald Kendall of the Pepsi-Cola Company.

[2] Jack Anderson, Washington Expose, p. 196.

[3] Turner, Gamblers' Money, pp. 177-83.

The Great Southwest Corporation thus represented a major land speculation with an obvious stake in the allocation of the TFX contract in which established capital (such as the Rockefeller family) was allied to mystery money accustomed to dealings with the Syndicate. Such combinations were far from unusual for Webb and Knapp, and in fact were the key to that company's spectacular growth since World War II. In Los Angeles, for example, Webb and Knapp acquired joint-ownership of the Spreckels Building with Ben Swig, later statewide finance chairman for Democratic gubernatorial candidate Pat Brown, and a corporation known as Store Properties, Inc. The major stockholder in Store Properties was Samuel Genis, "a financial wizard who fronted for Alex Louis Greenberg, who in turn fronted for the Chicago mob's top hierarchy."[1]

Genis, who valued his real estate holdings at over $180 million, was a friend of Meyer Lansky's with a police record in at least three states. Gus Alex Greenberg had acquired $900,000 worth of real estate in San Bernardino, California, in partnership with Genis' Store Properties, Inc., and with Paul Ziffren, later a Democratic National Committeeman and in 1962 the manager of Brother Pat's California primary campaign. Ziffren was formerly a Chicago law partner of Jake Arvey, the Democratic boss in Ruby's old home the Lawndale

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[1] Demaris, Open City, p. 223.

district of the 24th Ward. (Back in the 1930's, Greenberg--fronting for Nitti -- had founded Lawndale Enterprises, Inc., along with Jake Arvey and his law partner Louis Mantynband). But in 1955 both Genis and Greenberg died violently: Genis in an automobile accident, Greenberg by four gangland bullets.

> As in all underworld high finance, Genis' fortune mysteriously vanished...for probate purposes.... Genis' heirs received less than $250,000. The probate was handled by Ziffren and the City National Bank of Beverley Hills, an institution controlled by Glencoe Distilleries and Hoover's friend Alfred Hart, a business associate of Joseph Fusco.[1]

In the light of these associations the possibility that Ruby knew not only Byars but other members of the Del Charro set should have been meticulously explored. In Ruby's personal notebook were found the names of "Barney" (along with the phone numbers of Robert "Barney" Baker, a Teamster hoodlum convicted under Robert Kennedy and released only weeks before the assassination.) and of "Milt Jaffe", a point holder in the Stardust Casino in Las Vegas along with Jimmy Hoffa's old friend, M. B. Dalitz of the Desert Inn and Cleveland Syndicate (CE 1322, 22 H 504).[2] Another point holder in the Stardust was Johnny Drew, a Chicago gambler and close friend of Leslie "Killer Kane" Kruse of the Capone Mob.[3] Drew is said by Allar Witwer, former manager of the Del Charro, to have occupied a Del Charro suite while Hoover

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[1] Demaris, p. 224.

[2] Cf. Reid and Demaris, p. 232.

[3] Reid and Demaris, p. 67.

occupied a Del Charro bungalow; at the same time, Witwer claims, "The FBI was looking for Drew."[P] Indeed the various threads of our story seem to converge at the Stardust as they do at the Del Charro. The Stardust had originally been launched by Tony Cornero Stralla, a former California bootlegger who during World War II "traveled in Central and South America as a United States Naval Intelligence agent 'without portfolio'".[1] The opening of the Stardust Casino in 1959 was attended by Senator and Mrs. Lyndon Baines Johnson.[2] From 1960 to 1965 the skim from the Stardust and Desert Inn casinoes is said to have supplied $65,000 a month to Sam Giancana of the Chicago Syndicate, and another $52,000 a month to John Scalish of the Cleveland Syndicate.[3] During this period the Teamsters' Central States Pension Fund, at the urging of Jimmy Hoffa, advanced a total of $9 million to Dalitz and his associates for Las Vegas investments, including $6 million in 1960 for a 13-story addition to the Stardust Hotel.[4] And by 1965 mortgages on Dalitz's Stardust and Desert Inn Hotels, along with the Horseshoe of Jack Binion and Bobby Baker's partner Ed Levinson, were held by Gulf Life Insurance, a company which Troy Post (acting through a subsidiary of the Greatamerica Corp.) had purchased from the Murchisons in 1962.[5]

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[1] Reid and Demaris, p. 63.

[2] A picture of them with the emcee will be found in Reid, The Grim Reapers, facing p. 184.

[3] Life Sept. 8, 1967

[4] Jones and Jones, p. 273, 386.

[5] Fortune, May 1955, p. 191

Though we cannot be certain whether Ruby's friend Milt Jaffe was the same as the point-holder in the Stardust, it is undeniable that many rich Texans and their insurance companies joined with the Teamsters' Pension Fund in backing Syndicate investments in Las Vegas, as in Florida and elsewhere.[1]

But the Texan oil interests and the "hot-money" allies of the Syndicate had common interests not only in U.S. real estate but also in the Caribbean: for both sought quick returns on investments in countries under dictatorships (such as Haiti or Nicaragua) which did not enjoy the full confidence of the Kennedy Administration, its State Department, or the CIA.[2] This common stake abroad leads to a common lobbying interest in Washington, one involving that old rival of the CIA (especially in Latin America), the FBI.

Thus the Murchisons and their lawyers (including Thomas Webb, a codirector of Sweet Water with Bedford Wynne)

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[1] Another leading example is the Moody family's American National Insurance Company of Galveston, which like Post's Gulf Life invested in Las Vegas casinoes and interlocked with a bank in the Miami area.

[2] One man who chose to invest in Haiti was Oswald's some-time patron George de Mohrenschildt, who left Dallas for his plantation in Haiti about the time that Oswald suddenly departed Dallas for New Orleans. Morris Jaffe of Wynne, Jaffe, and Tinsley was de Mohrenschildt's personal lawyer in 1957 (9 H 201), a fact which might cast some doubt on his partner William A. McKenzie's elaborate explanation of how he had come to know de Mohrenschildt since 1959 by accident, through their two wives' sitting on the same jury (1 H 395). The chief information McKenzie gave to the (cont.)

owned a 30 per cent interest in the profits of a meat-packing plant (Hampco) in Haiti; and in November 1963 it was disclosed that Hampco, too, had been kicking back thousands of dollars in "finders' fees" to Bobby Baker.[1] The contact man for this Baker payoff was I. Irving Davidson, "a registered lobbyist for the governments of Haiti and Nicaragua - and also for the Murchison interests."[2] Davidson was later described by Life as a "Teamster-connected lobbyist" who once had as client Ohio Mafia kingpin Thomas Licavoli, whom he induced "to donate $5,000 to the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation, a pet project of Columnist Drew Pearson."[3] Davidson told President Somoza of Nicaragua in 1960 that he would be at the Democratic convention "in the active camp of Lyndon Johnson"; cancelled checks indicate that during the convention he paid Drew Pearson's hotel bill.[4] Inasmuch as Clint Murchison was "perhaps

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(cont.) Commission about de Mohrenschildt concerned his wife Wynne Sharples, whom de Mohrenschildt had divorced two years earlier, in 1957. De Mohrenschildt's lawyer for the divorce was Morris Jaffe. Inasmuch as the Warren Report concluded that de Mohrenschildt had been engaged in his Haitian business venture "continuously since June 1963 until the time of this report" (R 283), it should have explored Mr. McKenzie's testimony in February 1964 that he had seen de Mohrenschildt "in Dallas, Tex., within the past 7 months" (1 H 396).

[1] Reid, Grim Reapers, pp. 138-39; cf. NYT, November 13, 1963, p. 1; Baker Hearings, p. 891.

[2] Reid, Grim Reapers, p. 139; cf. NYT, Sept. 28, 1963, p. 8.

[3] Life, May 2, 1969, p. 31.

[4] NYT, Sept. 28, 1963, p. 8.

Hoover's closest friend," Irving Davidson is said to have "ready access to Hoover's office."[1] Davidson is also one of James Hoffa's "closest consultants" and in 1961-62 received a $7 million loan from the Teamsters' Pension Fund.[2]

Whether or not George de Mohrenschildt's links to the Haitian Government were relevant to Oswald's movements in 1963, there is evidence that Ruby at least sat in on meetings regulating the Caribbean affairs of oilmen and the underworld. Ruby volunteered that he had once had dinner in Dallas with "the Fox brothers" who "own the Tropicana" in Havana and are "the greatest that have been expelled from Cuba" (5 H 205). (I have encountered no references in literature about the Syndicate to these "Fox brothers"; but the consensus is that among gamblers "the greatest that have been expelled from Cuba" were indeed two brothers -- Meyer and Jake Lansky. The stenographer of that session had great difficulty recording names that were politically sensitive. For example, when Ruby spoke of his phone call to Dusty Miller, head of the Teamsters Southern Conference in Dallas and a trustee of the Central States Pension Fund, the name appeared in the Warren Commission Hearings as "Deutsch I. Maylor" of the AFL, 5 H 200 (cf. 15 H 245).

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[1] Turner, Hoover's FBI, p. 81.

[2] Ralph and Estelle James, Hoffa and the Teamsters, p. 277.

Ruby testified that the Fox brothers...wanted to see me" to help "collect a debt that some man owed the Cotton Gin Co. here". He had dinner at an airport restaurant with them, Mrs. Louis McWillie, and two Dallas attorneys. One of these was the "very prominent attorney in Dallas, /David/ McCord." The stenographer had difficulty recording the other lawyer's name: it emerges as "Mark Lane," "Dave Lane," and finally as "McClain." (5 H 205). Whoever he was, Justice Warren knew of him, responding to Ruby's "McClain" with the words, "Alfred was killed in a taxi in New York" (5 H 206). The second lawyer would thus appear to have been Alfred E. McLane, the mystery member of the Murchison and Delhi-Taylor law firm, Turner, Atwood. (McLane's senior partner, J. Glenn Turner, was also General Counsel to the Southern Union Gas Company of Wofford Cain, the associate of Byars and George Allen, and Johnson's lawyer Franklin Denius. One of the directors of Delhi-Taylor [redacted] was D. H. Byrd, the business associate of John A. Crichton and James Ling who bought heavily into L-T-V before the assassination.

Alfred E. McLane disappears from view in the year 1960, though his death is not recorded in the New York Times. His link with Ruby and the "Fox brothers" may however be related to his office in 1959 and 1960 as General Counsel of the oil exploration company, Rimrock Tidelands.

For when Rimrock Tidelands, through its subsidiary Rimrock International, interested itself in the postwar oil boom in Sicily, it decided to make use of the political influence of the Sicilian Mafia. The following extraordinary biography of Santo Sorge, to be found in the McClellan Narcotics Hearings, speaks for itself:

> SANTO SORGE. Managing director of the Rimrock International Oil Co., 680 Fifth Avenue in New York. Member of the Foreign Economic Research Association. Modus operandi: One of the most important Mafia leaders. Travels extensively between Italy and the United States in furtherance of ostensibly legitimate international ventures which probably cover for liaison duties between highest ranking Mafiosi in the United States and Italy. Has considerable political influence in Italy.[1]

One notes that in 1964 a new director was named to the board of Rimrock's parent company, Canadian Husky Oil Co., Ltd. He was J. W. Bullion, Lyndon Johnson's lawyer and the man whom the new President tried in vain to contact on November 22, 1963.[2] Bullion was already director of a Texas trucking concern (with the brother of a Crichton business associate) and of Core Labs, a company established by de Golyer and MacNaughton. In coming to the board of Canadian Husky, Bullion joined George S. Eccles, a Utah banker and director of the Galveston insurance company (American National) which was perhaps most strikingly associated with investment in Syndicate-related casinoes

[1] Narcotics Hearings, p. 997.

[2] J. W. Bullion was in Shreveport on November 22, as were General Edwin Walker and Jack Ruby's friend Joseph Civello, formerly of Dallas, Texas.

and banks, such as the Curtiss National Bank in Miami Springs. And the counsel for this last bank, former OSS China hand Paul L. E. Helliwell, had served in the 1948-52 period as counsel for the Eastern Development Company, which along with the Syndicate had run arms to Israeli guerillas.[1] Helliwell was also counsel for Sea Supply Inc., an alleged CIA proprietary which had provided various services to Thai police chief Phao Sriyanond, formerly a major figure in the trafficking of KMT narcotics.[2]

These far-flung and apparently far-fetched associations may throw some light on Ruby's story of his dinner with "the Fox brothers" and a leading Dallas oil attorney. They also help us to put in context Ruby's repeated protestations that "I have never been a criminal....I have never stolen....I am not a gangster" (5 H 204). If this dinner did take place, then Ruby was probably more important than a common gangster: he was some kind of middleman co-ordinating the covert relations between organized crime elements and the oil industry.

It seems likely, moreover, that the scope of these relations was international. We have already noted that a known owner of the Tropicana at this time was Norman Rothman, a former manager of the Sans Souci in Havana

[1] Leonard Slater, The Pledge (New York: Pocket Books, 1971), p. 175.

[2] Peter Dale Scott, The War Conspiracy, p. 000.

under Santo Trafficante, Jr.[1] In the late 1950's Trafficante acted as a major go-between in the dispute between what were then the two chief factions in the Syndicate -- Lansky's forces and the American Mafia. It was allegedly a consensus between Lansky and Trafficante that determined the murder of Lansky's enemy Albert Anastasia on October 25, 1957 (the day after Trafficante had had dinner with Anastasia and Little Augie Carfano, and then stayed in Anastasia's hotel room).[2]

Authoritative Italian sources suggest that this killing had been cleared at meetings held from October 10 to 14 at the Hotel des Palmes in Palermo, Sicily, by such top American mafiosi as Giuseppe Bonanno (Joe Bananas), Carmine Galante (the probable murderer of New York anti-fascist editor Carlo Tresca (in 1943)[3] and the aforementioned Santo Sorge.[4]

The United States had passed a more stringent Narcotics Control Act in 1956, and some say that the Lansky forces (opposed by Anastasia) were now pushing for organized crime to abandon narcotics as too dangerous, while concentrating on more respectable investments (such as casinoes at home and oil companies abroad) in conjunction with established capital. Others say that the issue

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[1] Messick, Lansky, p. 189; McClellan Hearings, p. 12432.

[2] Messick, Lansky, p. 212; McClellan Hearings, pp. 12359-70; Reid, Grim Reapers, p. 94.

[3] Narcotics Hearings, p.

[4] Michele Pantaleone, Mafia e droga (Torino: Giulio [illegible]), pp. [illegible]

was "the Cuban rivalry of Lansky and the dead man", since Anastasia had met in New York with a pro-Batista Cuban faction negotiating with former Marine intelligence officer John W. Houser, now a director with Henry Crown of Hilton Hotels International, for the casino in the new Havana Hilton.[1] It is possible that both stories are true together, inasmuch as Cuba did cease to be a center of the international drug traffic after the downfall of Anastasia in 1957 and of Batista one year later. In my last chapter I shall advance reasons for speculating that the downfall of Lansky's old ally Batista, too, may have been consented to essentially or even determined at Santo Sorge's meeting in Palermo in October 1957.

Let us now recall the interesting fact that in 1958 Norman Rothman, an owner along with "the Fox brothers" of the Havana Tropicana visited by Ruby, began to smuggle arms illegally to Castro, while still sharing the take from Cuba's slot machines with Batista's brother-in-law.[2] On April 21, 1959, as he was departing for his ill-fated visit to the United States, Castro announced the arrest of a certain Loran Eugene Hall, for having attempted to mount a similar "left-wing" gun-running operation against the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.[3]

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[1] Messick, Lansky, pp. 211-13.

[2] Oakland Tribune, April 28, 1963, p.4.

[3] NYT, April 22, 1959, p. 15; July 9, 1959, p. 10.

On July 3, 1959, the FBI announced that Norman Rothman had been arrested in the United States and indicted with four others, for unlawfully pledging $8.5 million worth of bonds stolen in a May 3 Canadian bank robbery (or "what the FBI called the biggest burglary in the world").[1] His co-defendants included a William Rabin of Chicago and the following Mafiosi and drug-traffickers:

a) Samuel Mannarino, a part-owner from 1952 to 1954 with his brother Gabriel and Santo Trafficante of the Havana Sans Souci, ~~from 1952 to 1954~~, which Rothman had then managed. Gabriel Mannarino attended the Apalachin meeting with Trafficante after Anastasia's death, and both Mannarino brothers are said to have participated in Syndicate gun-smuggling to Castro in 1958, along with Vito Genovese's son Michael.[2]

b) Giuseppe Cotroni, a Corsican Mafia representative in Montreal identified as follows in the Senate Narcotics Hearings:

> Head of the largest and most notorious narcotic syndicate on the North American Continent. A supplier of major Mafia traffickers in the United States; has direct French-Corsican sources of supply. Is a terrorist and vicious hoodlum in the Montreal area.[3]

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[1] NYT, July 4, 1959.

[2] McClellan Hearings, p. 16598; George Thayer, The War Business (New York: Avon, 1969), p. 155.

[3] Narcotics Hearings, p. 1002. Cotroni was identified along with Sorge as an associate of Carmine Galante who attended the Palermo meeting.

c) Rene Robert, a Montreal "delivery man" for Cotroni who after his arrest with Cotroni on July 9, 1959, nine days after his indictment with Rothman, was sentenced to eight years prison in Canada for violating narcotics laws.[1]

It would appear that, of the five men, only the "delivery man", went to prison. The others showed that unmistakable sign of high influence in the American Syndicate and American society -- immunity to prosecution. But meanwhile, on July 8, the Cuban cabinet ordered the deportation from Cuba of three Americans, Rothman's former employer Santos Trafficante, Lawrence Hall ("a former captain in the revolutionary army") and Henry Savaadra, a former employee of the Mafia-linked Capri Hotel where McWillie worked after leaving the Tropicana.[2]

Of the many rumors linking Ruby with pro- or anti-Castro Cuban activities, the Warren Report mentioned only

> one incident in January 1959 when Ruby made preliminary inquiries, as a middleman, concerning the possible sale to Cuba of some surplus jeeps located in Shreveport, La., and asked about the possible release of prisoners from a Cuban prison (R 369)

As we have noted, it passed over in silence the testimony of Nancy Perrin Rich that she had witnessed Ruby in gun-running negotiations with her husband, a colonel, a Cuban,

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[1] NYT, July 10, 1959, p. 8; Narcotics Hearings, p. 993.

[2] NYT, July 9, 1959, p. 10. The Capri, according to Messick (Lansky, p. 196) was "largely a sop to the Mafia. A group headed by Charles 'the Blade' Tourine [a Trafficante associate] operated it, but Lansky took his cut." Cf. McClellan Hearings, pp. 12370, 17381.

and "unless I am very much mistaken...Vito Genovese's son" (14 H 353). But Ruby's unexplained contacts with Alfred McLane and the Havana Tropicana of Norman Rothman suggest that the gun-running network may be the easiest explanation for his involvement in "the possible release of prisoners from a Cuban prison."[2] For Ruby's contact in this humanitarian enterprise (on behalf of "a person in Las Vegas, Nevada") was Robert McKeown, convicted in February 1958 of conspiracy to smuggle guns to the Castro forces in Cuba (CE 1689, 23 H 159).[2] Ruby himself was linked by Harry Hall to the movement of "contraband" from Florida to Cuba (23 H 863); Ruby also had numerous high-level contacts in the Teamsters in Miami (Dave Yaras, 22 H 472, cf. 25 H 275), Dallas (Dusty Miller, 25 H 244, 5 H 200), and Chicago (Barney Baker, 25 H 244); and Teamsters Pension Fund finances were said to have played a role in financing the attempted smuggling of planes and arms (perhaps the Mannarino arms) to the Dominican Republic.[3] The same activity has been attributed to Meyer Lansky.

Jake Arvey of Ruby's old 24th Ward in Chicago is also said to have taken an interest in Batista's downfall. We learn from perhaps the two leading anti-Batista journalists (Herbert Matthews and Ruby Hart Phillips) that they both spent the evening of December 31, 1958 (when both Batista and Meyer Lansky were preparing to leave Cuba) at Lansky's Havana casino (the Riviera), in the company of Jake Arvey's

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[2] NYT, February 26, 1958, p. 3; May 15, 1958, p. 10.

[3] McClellan Hearings, pp. 19091-1061; Robert Kennedy, The Enemy Within, p. 173: "The Teamsters Union was prepared to give financial support to an airplane company involved in smuggling arms to the Dominican Republic. The news reports stated that Jimmy Hoffa was personally concerned in the deal."

son and of Charles "Babe" Baron, the associate of Arvey and Lansky who went on to work at Ed Levinson's Tropicana in Las Vegas.[1]

The Warren Commission had available to it information, not published in either the Report or the Hearings, which led it to ask for further information about a Caribbean Teamster official, possibly implicated in gunrunning. On May 19, 1964, the Commission pressed the CIA for a reply to its memorandum (dated February 2[illegible], and transmitted March 12) about fifteen "associates and employees" of Ruby, whom it included among "the most promising sources of contact between Ruby and politically motivated groups interested in securing the assassination of President Kennedy" (CE 2980, 26 H 471-73). Among these was

> f. Leopold Ramos Ducos. Life was threatened by a person suggesting that the same group that would kill Ducos had been responsible for getting rid of Kennedy. Name "Leopoldo" has been mentioned by others who claim that Ruby was associated with emanti-Castro group in the procurement of arms, Name "Leopoldo" also mentioned by a woman in Dallas [Silvia Odio] who claims she was introduced to a "Leon Oswald" ...in October 1963 by anti-Castro Cuban leaders (26 H 472).

The reply by CIA Acting Deputy Director for Plans Thomas Karamessines (apparently dated September 15, 1964)

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[1] Herbert L. Matthews, The Cuban Story (New York: George Braziller, 1961), p. 87; Ruby Hart Phillips, Cuba: Island of Paradox (New York: McDowell, Obolensky, n.d.), p. 394.

stated that the CIA "has no indication that RUBY and Lee Harvey OSWALD ever knew each other" (an irrelevant issue not raised by the memorandum); it also averred that "our records do notreflect any information pertaining to these persons." (24 H 466). One wonders if the CIA's apparent ignorance of "Leopold Ramos Ducos" was, once again, a matter of spelling. A book in print at this time had already identified Leopoldo Ramos Duclos as the Teamster official whom Jimmy Hoffa installed as boss and trustee of the Union Gastronomica in Puerto Rico, shortly after its headquarters had been blown up by five Molotov cocktailsiin February 1962.[1] The Los Angeles teamster officials in charge of Hoffa's successful campaign to take over the Gastronomica in Puerto Rico were Frank Chavez ("whose long police record includes an earlier charge of attempted murder by hurling a fire bomb") and Mike Singer, the investment partner of Cliff Jones and Bobby Baker who helped set up a banking "shell" in the Bahamas (the Bank of World Commerce) for Meyer Lansky's international investment operations.[2] That the CIA had no file on Ramos Duclos or Ducos

[1] Reid and Demaris, Green Felt Jungle, p. 87. I have not been able to learn whether this Union Gastronomica had any relation to that in Cuba which financed the construction by Manolo Ray of the Havana Hilton, and whose officers negotiated to be cut in with Cliff Jones as licensees of its casino; McClellan Hearings, p. 12434.

[2] Reid and Demaris, p. 87; McClellan Hearings, p. 16442; Messick, Syndicate Abroad, p. 86. Messick (p. 87) says that Los Angeles police files implicated Singer in heroin-smuggling. Singer died in March 1967.

seems extraordinary; that the same man had links to Ruby seems not at all improbable. Three men associated with Ruby's friend McWillie at the Havana Capri (George Raft, Al Manes, and Louis Ceader) figure in the background of the Bank of World Commerce, whose shareholders included Cliff Jones and Ed Levinson.[1]

What is more important, Ruby's contacts with McLane and the Tropicana owners may explain the pre-assassination activities of those who acted as guardians for Lee Harvey Oswald. They too had links with forces which originally supported Castro but turned against him. As we shall see in the last chapter, the late 1950's saw preparations for extensive oil explorations in Cuba and the Caribbean. Rich Americans who were financially involved included Johnson's friend John L. Loeb of Loeb Rhoades, and Nixon's backer J. Clifford Folger of Hilton Hotels International. There exists an interesting but embarrassing eulogy of Fidel Castro, published in 1959 by Bobbs Merrill and written by Jules Dubois, a current or former US Army intelligence officer who acted in Cuba as correspondent for the right-wing Chicago Tribune. Colonel Dubois, who had come to oppose Castro violently by September 1959, writes about the Civil Resistance Movement (CRM), a circle of wealthy Havana financiers who with his participation were organized in a secret alliance with Castro against Batista in 1958. Among these financiers (who also turned against Castro in

[1] Messick, Syndicate Abroad, pp. 83-89.

1959) were Ignacio G. Mendoza (director of United Cuban Oil Company), Jose M. Bosch Lamarque (director of Trans-Cuba Oil Company with John L. Loeb of Empire Trust) and Luis J. Botifoll (a director of Siboney-Caribbean Petroleum Company which was 17 per cent owned by the Crescent Petroleum Company of J. C. Folger).[1]

George de Mohrenschildt, the Oswalds' baby-sitter, informed the Warren Commission (9 H 202) that he had visited Cuba "during the Batista days" on behalf of Warren W. Smith and the Cuban-Venezuelan Oil Voting Trust, which held a farm-out agreement with the Trans-Cuba Oil Company of Jose Bosch Lamarque and John L. Loeb. One director of Cuban-Venezuelan with Smith was C. Leslie Rice, Jr., an Empire Trust director who was associated in no less that six companies with(including the Dorchester Corp.) Jack Crichton of Army Intelligence Reserve Service.(De Mohrenschildt had earlier worked under Warren Smith for the Buckley family's Pantepec Oil Company (9 H 191) which sells to Sun Oil; thus these business relationships may help explain Crichton's selection of Ilya Mamantov, a friend of de Mohrenschildt and a Sun Oil employee, as Marina's interpreter).

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[1] Jules Dubois, Fidel Castro: Rebel-Liberator or Dictator? (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959), pp. 153, 212, 249.

De Mohrenschildt testified that after visiting Cuba "to look the situation over" for Cuban-Venezuelan, he then worked for Three States Natural Gas (9 H 202). Three States was a Lehman investment; its directors included Robert Lehman of United Fruit and J. G. Turner, the Murchison lawyer who was law partner of Ruby's fellow-diner Alfred McLane. Finally de Mohrenschildt was "contacted by Core Lab in Dallas in regard to a job in Yugoslavia" (9 H 202); we have already noted that a director of this firm was J. Wadley Bullion who handled Lyndon Johnson's business interests and went in 1964 to the board of Canadian Husky (the parent company of Santo Sorge's Rimrock International). One might also note here ~~We shall have more to say later about~~ the common interest of Rimrock, Husky, and the Buckley family's Magellan Petroleum Corp. in Israeli oil ventures, including subsidiary explorations in Guatemala and the Far East. We shall see that Rimrock, at least, was associated with capital advanced to its affiliate Israel-American by Max Orovitz, a business intimate of Meyer Lansky and the Miami Syndicate.

Of more immediate relevance to the Oswald story is Lawrence Eugene Hall, who was evicted from Cuba along with Santos Trafficante and Henry Savaadra from McWillie's Hotel Capri. We have noted Silvia Odio's story that she

was visited by three men, including a "Leopoldo" and a "Leon Oswald", who thought the President should have been assassinated after the Bay of Pigs at the end of September 1963 (11 H 373-81). Mrs. Odio had told both her father and her psychiatrist about this visit before the assassination (11 H 368, 373); whether true or false, the story tells us little about Oswald, yet argues strongly for the existence of a pre-assassination conspiracy. It was discounted by the Warren Report (R2324) on the basis of testimony from a "Loran Eugene Hall...identified as a participant in numerous anti-Castro activities" (R 324; CE 3146, 26 H 834), who testified that he and two colleagues had visited Mrs. Odio's apartment in September 1963. "Loran Eugene Hall" had been located by the FBI in Johnsondale Calif., on September 16, 1964, only eight days before the Warren Report was submitted to the President.[1]

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[1] According to Harold Weisberg (Whitewash II, p. 97) an unpublished FBI file synopsis indicates that Hall had already withdrawn his story on September 20, 1964, one day before Hoover forwarded his September 16 story to the Warren Commission: "LORAN EUGENE HALL advised 9/16/64, that in September, 1963, he was at Dallas, Texas, in company of LAWRENCE HOWARD and WILLIAM SEYMOUR to solicit aid in anti-CASTRO movement....HALL recalled a Cuban woman, Mrs. ODIO, who lived in apartment 4, located on Magellan Circle....On 9/20/64, HALL reinterviewed and advises that information furnished by him on 9/16/64 was incorrect and was furnished by error." Weisberg (p. 93) prints another FBI report "that one LORAN EUGENE HALL was arrested by the Dallas Police Department October 17, 1963....Dangerous Drug Law....HALL was arrested in the company of WILLIAM HOUSTON SEYMOUR....active in the anti-Castro movement....Committee to Free Cuba" (emphasis added).

Lawrence Hall and Silvia Odio may or may not have been strangers to each other but they both seem to have been linked to the U. S. financial circles which first backed Castro and then turned against him. Informed witnesses before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee identified three Americans as prominent in Castro's campaign against Batista: James Gentry, Andrew St. George (said by Subcommittee Counsel Sourwine to have been an American double agent) and the gunrunning pilot Frank Fiorini.[1] By 1965 St. George was serving as publicity a agent for Manolo Ray, the engineer in charge of constructing the Havana Hilton, co-conspirator with Dubois against Batista, and personal friend of Silvia Odio.[2] Other testimony indicates that the arms of the Fiorini group (del Valle, Fiorini, Major Pedro Diaz y Lanz), were diverted in the spring of 1959 to the revolt of a "left-CIA" Nicaraguan anti-Communist, Colonel Gomez, whom Lawrence Hall had also sought to support.[3] In September 1959 there was an upsurge of American activities in Cuba against Castro; and an American pilot from Miami was captured in Pinar del Rio province.[4]

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[1] U.S. Cong. Senate, Committee of the Judiciary, Communist Threat to the United States through the Caribbean, th Cong., Sess., (Washington: G.P.O.,), pp. 946, 951.

[2] Dubois, Castro, pp. 213, 233.

[3] Communist Threat, pp. 918-20, 963-64.

[4] NYT, September 26, 1959, p. 7.

By this time Fiorini and Diaz y Lanz (like Col. Dubois) had turned against Castro; on October 21 the two men left Florida in a light plane and dropped anti-Castro leaflets over Havana.[1]

In the next chapters I shall suggest that the outbreak of Miami-based anti-Castro activities in September was linked to Oswald's visits to the Los Angeles Cuban Consulate and to his hasty departure from the U.S. Marines on September 11, 1959, as well as to Jack Ruby's unexplained one-day trip to Havana on September 12-13, 1959 (22 H 859). For it seems possible that the Caribbean coalition of gunrunners, oil speculators, intelligence agents, and teamsters, once for Castro and then against him, included not only Ruby and Oswald's guardians, but also Oswald himself.

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[1] NYT, October 31, 1959, p. 12.

TENNER AND THE THE WARREN COMMISSION

Shortly after I circulated a preliminary draft of this book, the columnist Jack Anderson published ("from sources whose credentials are beyond question") details of six alleged CIA attempts to assassinate Castro between March 1961 and January 1963:

> To set up the assassination, the Central Intelligence Agency enlisted Robert Maheu, a former FBI agent with shadowy contacts, who had handled other under-cover assignments for the CIA out of his Washington public relations [i.e., private intelligence] office. He later moved to Las Vegas to head up billionaire Howard Hughes' Nevada operations. Maheu recruited John Roselli, a ruggedly handsome gambler [identified elsewhere, but not by Anderson, as a Las Vegas capomafioso from Chicago who knew Lansky][1] ....The CIA assigned two of its most trusted operatives, William Harvey and James "Big Jim" O'Connell, to the hush-hush murder mission. Using phony names, they accompanied Roselli on trips to Miami to line up the assassination teams.... The assassination teams never got a shot at Castro, although the last group reached a rooftop within range....not even the Cuban recruits knew the CIA was behind the plot. The weapons and other equipment were of foreign make, mostly Belgian, to prevent any link to the U.S. All the equipment including the two powerboats, were purchased out of Roselli's own pocket. The CIA paid only the expenses of its two agents Harvey and O'Connell.[2]

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[1] Reid and Demaris, The Grim Reapers, pp. 187-90; cf. Kefauver Hearings, Pt.5, p. 404.

[2] Jack Anderson, "CIA Linked in Plots to Kill Cuba's Castro," San Francisco Chronicle, January 18, 1971, p. 39.

January 1963 Robert Kennedy heightened their Dominican grievance by indicting Cassini for failure to register as a paid lobbyist for Trujillo. Cassini's contact man with Trujillo had been Pedro de Lesseps, an associate of the WACCFL, a steering committee to set up a World Anti-Communist League, and a contributor on military matters to the American Mercury, as later was General Walker. But the right-wing Cassini was a late comer to the fading Trujillo bandwagon. Another "close associate, decorated by Trujillo, was /the liberal/ De Lesseps Morrison, former mayor of New Orleans".[1]

The Kennedy partiality to liberal anti-Communist leaders (like Juan Bosch) who cracked down on casinos, rather than right-wing dictators (like Trujillo) who accommodated them, was in 1963 a common grievance shared not only by the Syndicate but also notably by the conservative senators of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, and also by at least some of their FBI-inspired informers and by Otto Otepka in the State Department. This common grievance against the Kennedys was considerably aggravated, in 1963, by Robert Kennedy's crackdown on right-wing efforts, abetted by the Syndicate, to train and equip their own guerilla expeditions against Castro. On July 31, 1963, FBI agents were ordered to seize more than a ton of dynamite in a vacant house in Kenilworth near New Orleans.[2] And, for reasons suggested above, this crack-down may have been related to Oswald's sudden spate of Cuban activities with Carlos Bringuier, beginning with Oswald's visit to Bringuier's office on August 5 (R728). Beyond question Bringuier

[1] Carlton Beals, The Coming Revolution in Latin America (New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1963), p. 129.

[2] NYT, August 1, 1963, p. 6.

was in touch with Cuban guerilla activities in the Kenilworth area not sanctioned by the Kennedys, for two of these guerillas visited him on August 2 (10 H 35).

The Kenilworth arms cache appears to have been a Syndicate operation. The house belonged to a "William Julius McLaney" who had lived in Cuba until 1960, when Castro had made things impossible for his "tourist business".[1] William McLaney has since been identified as a "gambler associated with the Tropicana Hotel in Havana"[2] (where Ruby visited his friend McWillie the casino manager) and as the brother of Mike McLaney of the Nacional Hotel Casino (one of the two other casinos in Havana also visited by Ruby).[3] The manager of the Nacional Hotel Casino before 1959 was John Lansky, Meyer Lansky's brother and personal representative; and Mike McLaney appears to have worked for Meyer Lansky again in the 1957 Cabaret elections.[4]

The syndicate in Louisiana is highly sophisticated big business, the so-called "Wall Street of Cosa Nostra"; its annual income, making it "by far the state's largest industry", has been put at $1,124,000,000.[5] (It can thus be compared in size to General Dynamics, the giant of the military-industrial complex, whose sales at this time were put at "above $1 billion".) Since April 1963 the head or capofioso of the Louisiana syndicate has been Carlos Marcello (alias Calogero Minocari or Calorso Miniceri); Marcello is a convicted dope-peddler and multimillionaire said to have been promoted to big-time via the New Orleans slot-machine and related rackets of Frank Costello, Dandy

[1] AP story, March 4, 1967, quoted in Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 69.

[2] William Turner, "The Garrison Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy", Ramparts (January 1968), p. 52.

[3] Paris Flammonde, The Kennedy Conspiracy (New York: Meredith, 1969), p. 118; Messick, Syndicate Abroad, p. 102. Ted Dawidson, "The Mafia: Shadow of Evil on an Island in the Sun," Look (Feb 28, 1967)

[5] D. Davidson, "New Orleans: Cosa Nostra's Wall Street," Saturday Evening Post (Nov. 29, 1964), p. 15.

Phil Kastel -- and Meyer Lansky.[1]

Marcello, Kastel and Costello have also been identified as the big investors behind the Tropicana Hotel in Las Vegas (the strip's largest money-maker in 1961) along with Chicago's Louis Lederer and Charles "Babe" Baron, the latter a former killer for Capone (not indicted) who later worked in Cuban casinos "bossed by Meyer Lansky".[2] In 1961, shortly after his return from Cuba, Baron (a figure to whom we shall return) obtained a "secret" security clearance in connection with his title as brigadier general in the Illinois National Guard.[3]

Like Meyer Lansky, together with Bobby Baker's partner Ed Levinson,[4] so also Carlos Marcello is associated with the "laundering" of syndicate "hot" money (such as illegal "skims" from the casino takes in Las Vegas) by the covert export of cash to foreign banks in Switzerland or Panama.[5] The reason is the broken Louisiana coastline south of Marcello's country hideaway, ideally suited for smuggling operations to and from the Caribbean. This also explains why New Orleans has been identified before the McClellan Committee as a point of import for heroin from Mafia operatives in Italy.[6]

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[1] Reid and Demaris, p. 84; Saturday Evening Post (Feb. 29, 1964), p. 19; NYT, June 19, 1970, p.29.

[2] Reid and Demaris, pp. 82-88; Demaris, Captive City, p. 230; Messick, Lansky, p. 117.

[3] Demaris, Captive City, p. 230.

[4] NYT, Dec. 1, 1969, p. 42; cf. NYT, Mar. 2, 1969, p. 1.

[5] Saturday Evening Post (Feb. 29, 1964), p. 17.

[6] U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee on Government Operations, Organized Crime and Illicit Traffic in Narcotics, Hearings, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 801. At the Italian end was Frank Coppola, a New York narcotics peddler and associate of Frank Costello, Marcello's business partner.

Harry J. Anslinger, for 32 years U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics, testified before the same committee that "the /international/ traffic in opium and its derivatives is centered in several areas in the Far East (the Burma-mainland China-Laos-Thailand border areas)".[1] Stanley Karnow has estimated that two million pounds of opium are produced each year in this area; and that a pound of raw opium, worth about $25 in Thailand, will sell for about $1,000 as an ounce of heroin by the time it reaches the United States.[2]

In 1961 he estimated that 40 per cent of Chinese morphine and heroin was smuggled from Hong Kong to the Los Angeles area alone.[3]

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[1] Organized Crime, p. 801. Unlike some other U.S. Government officials, Anslinger placed Turkey second as a source, with Mexico a poor third. Cf. P.D. Scott, The War Conspiracy, p.000.

[2] Harry J. Anslinger and Will Oursler, The Murderers (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1961), p.239.

[3] Saturday Evening Post, February 22, 1964, p. 80.

More recently the New York Times has put the retail price of heroin as up to $12,500 an ounce in New York, compared to $300 in Hong Kong.[1] It puts the current opium traffic in Laos alone at between $3 and $5 million a year;[2] and this figure would perhaps not include what the CIA must use to pay its tribesmen, who are unused to currency. Congressman John Tunney, using the same bulk estimate of from four to ten tons annually, suggests a range from $2 to $6 million for Laos. "Refined as heroin," he has said, "and sold on the streets of Los Angeles, it would bring nearly $900 million."[3] But all of these figures conform to the U.S. State Department's repeated contention that Turkey (with known opium exports of about 120 tons per annum) is the major source of U.S. heroin, supplying up to 80 per cent.[4] This estimate is at odds with Anslinger's focus on Southeast Asia as the center of the world opium trade, with Turkey second, and Mexico a poor third. A much more serious picture of the Southeast Asia opium crop was also presented at a recent United Nations seminar on narcotics control in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. There an Iranian Government official estimated the world production of illegal opium at 1,205 tons per annum, with 83% (or 1,000 tons) coming from Southeast Asia, and Turkey in second place.[5] Anslinger, with the aid of an article in Pravda, has blamed this Far Eastern opium trade on Peking, overlooking the fact that over the years most of what is grown in China (in

[1] NYT, July 14, 1970.

[2] NYT, June 16, 1970.

[3] John V. Tunney, Speech of March 24, 1970; reprinted in The New Yorker (Apr. 11, 1970), p. 3.

[4] Toronto Globe and Mail, Sept. 11, 1970, p. 9.

[5] NYT, Aug. 3, 1970. I am indebted to Allen Ginsberg for the citations in this paragraph, and also for having revived my interest in [illegible]

Yunnan Province) has in fact been trafficked south under the protection of the Laotian and Thai Armies (formerly the Thai police), and above all the KMT guerillas which survive in the area with the support of Taiwan, Air America, and the CIA. Corsican police in Saigon are also said to have a hand in forwarding opium (said by Karnow to be "the principal...export of Laos"), to Hong Kong, to Singapore, or to the well-organized Corsican drug-dealers in Marseille and other parts of Western Europe. This trade may explain the mysterious visit in 1968 of Louis Santo Trafficante, the former Havana gambling overlord and associate of Meyer Lansky, to Singapore, Hong Kong and even to Saigon, a city not then accessible to ordinary tourists.[1]

Smuggling and narcotics are two of the big reasons why, of all the capomafiosi, Marcello was between 1961 and 1963 a special target of Robert Kennedy and the Justice Department. Kennedy and his aide Walter Sheridan had Marcello seized on April 4, 1961, and whicked by a special Immigration jet to Guatemala, the country where Marcello had once had forged a false registration of birth in order to avoid deportation to his more remote homeland of Tunisia.[2] For two or three weeks Marcello was dined by the Guatemala aristocracy and flown around Guatemala in the private plane of President Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes, a protege of United Fruit and the CIA, who had let his country be used as a base for the Bay of Pigs invasion of that same month. In late April Marcello left Guatemala for El Salvador; so, by a coincidence, did George de Mohrenschildt and his wife, passing through on foot from the U.S.-Mexican border to Panama. Soon after

[1] Ed Reid, The Grim Reapers, p. 296.

[2] Reid, The Grim Reapers, p. 130; Davidson, p. 19.

Marcello returned to the United States, and resumed his million-dollar legal battle to avoid deportation. In late 1962 he is reported to have screamed at someone's mention of the Attorney-General:

> Livarse ne potra di la scarpa [Get that stone out of my shoe, an alleged Mafia cry of revenge]....Don't worry about that little Bobby son of a bitch....He's going to be taken care of![1]

Whether or not Marcello did anything to take care of Bobby Kennedy, it is clear that he took successful steps to settle the matter of his deportation. Through his lawyer C. Wray Gill, he had engaged the services of Guy Bannister, a former head of the FBI bureau in Chicago who now ran a private detective agency out of the side entrance (531 Lafayette St.) of the Newman Building at 544 Camp Street. William Turner has written that Bannister had old links with Guatemala, having been part of the "Anti-Communism League of the Caribbean" used by the CIA (and Colonel Jules Dubois) in the overthrow of Arbenz. One of his colleagues in this group, Maurice B. Gatlin, Sr., attended a meeting in Guatemala in 1958 of Latin Americans, Kuomintang representatives, ABN leaders and others (including Pedro de Mesones who was Cassini's go-between with Trujillo) to help set up a World Anti-Communist League (Conference of Freedom and Liberation). Bannister in turn put in charge of the Marcello case David Ferrie, Oswald's mentor in the Civil Air Patrol.

There are many rumors, not hitherto disputed, about Ferrie's activities while on the Marcello case: that it was he who flew

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[1] Reid, The Grim Reapers, p. 158.

~~[illegible] W. Turner, Ramparts (January, 1968), p. 47~~

Marcello back to the United States,[1] that he trained the anti-Castro Cubans whose arms were stashed at McLoney's house,[2] that all this time he was a homosexual member of a splinter Old Catholic Church faction in communion since 1962 with the "old guard" Russian Orthodox Catholic Church in America.[3]

Ferrie's links with the Oswald case are obscure, since at least 36 pages in the Commission's Ferrie file are still classified.[4] One of those declassified shows that the FBI was able swiftly to close the Ferrie inquiry within days of the assassination:

> Investigation disclosed that information furnished by Jack S. Martin /another of Bannister's detectives/ to the effect that David William Ferrie associated with Lee Harvey Oswald at New Orleans and trained Oswald in the use of a rifle with a telescopic lens, also that Ferrie had visited Dallas several weeks prior to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, is without foundation. Jack S. Martin, who has the appearance of being an alcoholic, has the reputation locally of furnishing incorrect information to law enforcement officers, district attorneys, etc.[5]

Ferrie also produced alibis to cover his 48-hour dash to Texas in

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[1] Rosemary James and Jack Wardlaw, Plot or Politics (New Orleans: Pelican, 1967), p. 45.

[2] Edward J. Epstein, Counterplot (New York: Viking, 1969), p. 37.

[3] Flammonde, p. 38.

[4] Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 175.

[5] Quoted in Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, pp. 177-78.

the evening of November 22, during which he visited a Houston skating rink, and also placed at least one phone call to Carlos Marcello's Town and Country Motel.[1] Finally a plane belonging to Ferrie in New Orleans airport (which seems not to have been his only plane) was examined and found unserviceable by two policemen -- one of whom was Edward F. O'Sullivan of the Vice Squad, an old friend of Ferrie (he was six years in the Civil Air Patrol) and also of Lee Harvey Oswald.(8 H 27-31).

Three facts are incontrovertible. First, Ferrie had complained bitterly in private and in public about President Kennedy's failure to provide air cover at the Bay of Pigs; he even admitted to the FBI that he "might have used an off-hand or colloquial expression, 'He /Kennedy/ ought to be shot'".[2] Second, David Ferrie's alibi for the day of November 22, 1963 is that he was in or just outside the courtroom in New Orleans where, on that same day, Carlos Marcello's deportation of 1961 was finally ruled illegal.[3] Third, today Ferrie, Bannister, Catlin, and a fourth Bannister associate called Hugh Ward are all dead.[4] Bannister died from a heart attack, Catlin in a fall from a Panama hotel room, and Hugh Ward in a private plane crash with de Lesseps Morrison. All this may help to explain Jack Martin's sudden denial of his own story.

Nor is David Ferrie the only New Orleans figure in the penumbra of both the assassination story and of Carlos Marcello. Dean Andrews,

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1 [illegible], Weisberg, p. 183.

2 Commission Document, quoted in Weisberg, Oswald in New Orleans, p. 184.

3 NYT, Feb. 1967

4 William W. Turner, Ramparts (January 1968), p. 47

who told the Commission a bisexual "Clay Bertrand" who had sought his legal services in defense of Oswald in Dallas, was until 1967 an assistant District Attorney in Jefferson Parish,[1] a parish "as firmly controlled by the mob as Cicero, Ill., was at the height of the Capone era."[2] A chief investigator on the staff of the Jefferson Parish District Attorney was identified by Life in 1967 as a former collector for Marcello's music company, convicted in 1943 of bribing a witness to help two mobsters.[3] Jim Garrison himself, who built Andrews' story into a spectacular accusation against Shaw and the CIA, one whose ultimate collapse discredited not only Garrison but the whole case against the Warren Report, is a more inscrutable figure; though Garrison is said by William Turner to have once refused a sizable Mafia bribe, Look has assembled many facts to show that Garrison owes his house and other perquisites to associates of Carlos Marcello.[4] INSERT 483A

The problem of how to relate to the Mafia (the state's largest industry) has for years split the Democratic Party. In the 1940's liberals like deLesseps Morrison and Sam Jones presented themselves as anti-Mafia candidates attacking what Jones once called "Maestri and the hot-oil crowd, aided and abetted by Costello and his racketeers."[5] Their

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1 Epstein, Counterplot, p. 26; Brener, p. 57.

2 Davidson, p. 15. Ferrie also chose to live in Jefferson Parish (8 H 31)

3 Life, (Sept. 8, 1967) ; cited in Reid, The Grim Reapers, p. 132.

4 Warren Rogers, "The Persecution of Clay Shaw," Look (Aug. 26, 1969), p. 56; cf. Life (Sept. 29, 1967), p. 35

5 Times-Picayune (New Orleans), January 26, 1948; quoted in V.O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics (New York: Vintage, 1949), p. 166; cf. Key, pp. 171-72n.

But it would be wrong to think that the Mafia is strong in New Orleans uniquely because of its pecuniary ability to corrupt public officials. Another factor at least as important is the common economic stake which the Mafia and large enterprises like United Fruit, prominent in New Orleans commercial life, both have in preserving or restoring the venal dictatorships of the Caribbean. It was after all Syndicate financing which helped Meyer Lansky's old friend Batista to regain the Cuban presidency in 1952, thus making Cuba safe for corporate investment and for gambling alike.[1]

This special ability of the Syndicate to be of use to U.S. firms in Latin America and elsewhere has led to a strange working alliance between the worlds of intelligence and organized crime. Just as OSS used Mafia personnel during Allied landings in Italy, where Mussolini had cracked down brutally on the Sicilian Mafia, so during World War II

> Naval Intelligence decided that it needed the help of the Mafia to protect East Coast shipping from sabotage....The Navy turned to Luciano's attorney, Moses Polakoff, who promised to talk to his client. But he said he needed someone with him whom Luciano would trust — Meyer Lansky.[2]

The arrangement for "Operation Underworld" which Lansky helped work out between Luciano and ONI has said in the Kefauver hearings to have earned [redacted] his post-war parole to his native Italy.

A similar understanding between U.S. intelligence agencies and the Syndicate was allegedly in effect in New Orleans in 1963, involving the owner of Tujague Shipping Company for which Oswald once worked.

s Gage, "The Little Big Man Who Laughs at the Law," Atlantic (July 1970), p. 67.

Congressman Jimmy Morrison (no relation to deLesseps), a candidate of the Old Regulars, was known in Washington as one of the "boon companions" of Syndicate lobbyist Murray Olf, who in turn has been linked to Costello, Kastel, and Meyer Lansky. Morrison once introduced a private bill in a vain effort to prevent the deportation of Silvestro Carollo, a convicted narcotics trafficker from New Orleans.[3]

efforts to legalize gambling and end Mafia influence were blocked inside New Orleans by the Democratic "Old Regular" organization in alliance with the Long machine.[1] Between 1950 and 1956 the Chairman of the "Old Regulars" was attorney Clem A. Sehrt, the "very good friend" whom Mrs. Marguerite Oswald said (under oath) she had consulted in 1955 about Lee's determination to register while under age in the Marines (1 H 197). Her testimony should be explored, since in December 1963 Mr. Sehrt told the FBI "he has not seen or heard of Marguerite Claverie [Oswald] in over three years" (cf 2207 25 H 69).[3] Marguerite Oswald was proud of the political connections she had developed while working in a New Orleans legal office; and there is at least one other clue that this political connection was influential in shaping Lee Oswald's career. While "reading Communism" and waiting to join the Marines, Oswald's first job was as a messenger with the shipping company of Leon Tujague, a director along with oilman Robert S. Maestri of the National American Bank in New Orleans, of which the legal counsel (later the President) was the same Clem A. Sehrt. A third director was John Mecom's lawyer Ernest Carrere of the Louisiana Land and Exploration Co., another oil exploration interest of the Empire Trust Company (Loeb and Rhoades Lehman) for which worked Mamantov's friend John Crichton of "Army Reserve Intelligence Service". A fourth was Seymour Weiss, whom Lansky and the Syndicate are said to have chosen with Carlos Marcello "to run New Orleans"

Without suggesting that either John L. Loeb or his wife's cousin Robert Lehman knew anything of what was going on in Dallas, the outlying marches of their investment interests have overlapped not only with covert "intelligence" operations (United Fruit in Guatemala, 1954) but, almost invariably, with the "new" wealth that has emerged since the war in the penumbra of Syndicate operations. This is particularly true of their establishment giant, General Dynamics, which in late 1959

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[2] Jack Anderson, Washington Expose, pp. 452-55.
[3] Key, pp. 172n, 174.

[3] Agent Regis Kennedy of the FBI identified Mr. Sehrt only as a lawyer whose father had been a baker, and did not mention his political or banking activities.
[4] [illegible], p. 77.

absorbed the Materials Service Corp. and granted its owner, Chicago millionaire Henry Crown, a 20 per cent stock interest (the largest single bloc of General Dynamics stock).[1]

Thus General Dynamics, whose President Frank Pace was one of the nine members of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board (advising President Kennedy on matters of CIA policy) had as its largest shareholder a self-made multi-millionaire who had grown rich from highly questionable contracts with Chicago politicians, with the help of his close friend Sam Nanini and Nanini's friends in the unions controlled by the Chicago Syndicate. Nanini once tried unsuccessfully to sponsor the citizenship application of Joey Glimco, "the Syndicate's top labor" czar, and later sponsored the parole of Louis Campagna, one of the seven mob chiefs convicted in the Brown - Bioff extortion case.[2]

Crown's financial successes included real estate deals with others on the fringes of the Syndicate's operations, including Del E. Webb who built the Flamingo and other Las Vegas casinos, and Democratic boss Jake Arvey, who in the

[1] Demaris, Captive City, pp. 226-27.

[2] Demaris, Captive City, pp. 214-30.

1930's had helped found a theater chain with Alex Louis Greenberg, a front for Frank Nitti. Arvey had been accused of responsibility for stuffing ballot-boxes in the 24th Ward, using as strong-arm man his protege Lenny Patrick, the Nitti hoodlum and friend of Dave Yaras who was contacted in 1963 by Jack Ruby (14 H 445).[1]

Crown brought to General Dynamics as its Senior Vice-President his close business associate Patrick Hoy; Hoy frequented night-clubs with such Syndicate representatives as Charles "Babe" Baron, a close associate of Arvey and John Rosselli and one-time hoodlum killer who (as we have already seen) returned from Meyer Lansky's casinoes in Cuba to be cleared for "secret" communications as a Brigadier General in the Illinois National Guard.[2] As a director of the

[1] Demaris, Captive City, pp. 122, 130,169. Kefauver Hearings Part 5, 1348 ss.

[2] Demaris, Captive City, p. 230.

Development Corp. of America, Patrick Hoy also participated in the huge Zeckendorf-Murchison-Zilkha-Great Southwest Corp. syndicate whose employee James Martin became Marina's business manager.

Another director (since 1951) of Crown's Materials Service Corp., hotelman Joseph P. Binns, enjoyed his own simultaneous contacts with the two worlds of U.S. intelligence and gambling. On the one hand he was a director of U.S. Life along with two representatives of former OSS China hand C.V. Starr, whose world-wide insurance-intelligence network was now handled by Tommy Corcoran's partner W.S. Youngman.[1] On the other Binns was in movie business (Seven Arts Productions, Ltd.) with future Bahamas gambling tycoon Louis Chesler; in fact Seven Arts helped bankroll Chesler's gambling palace in the Bahamas (the Lucayan Beach Hotel), whose casino was soon being run by associates of Meyer Lansky.[2] (Lansky sent to the Lucayan Beach none other than the same George Sadlo who had been partner with Democratic National Committeeman Cliff Jones in the early days of the Thunderbird Hotel in Las Vegas.[3]) Chesler's personal friends ranged from former Treasury Secretary Robert B. Anderson, now a Loeb Rhoades partner and Lyndon Johnson's "No. 1 financial adviser")[4] to Trigger Mike Coppola of the New York ~~syndicate~~,

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[1] D.D. Scott, The War Conspiracy, p. 000.

[1] A fourth director of U.S. Life, as we have already noted, was W. Palmer Dixon, a Loeb Rhoades partner, a director of the Guatemalan railway rescued by U.S. intervention in 1954, and later a director of General Dynamics.

[2] In 1964 Morris MacSchwebel, the largest shareholder in Seven Arts and a partner of Chesler in other firms, was sentenced to a year and a day for selling unregistered securities (Wall Street Journal, June 8, 1964, p. 11; July 9, 1964, p. 11).

[3] Reid, The Grim Reapers, pp. 105-10; Wall Street Journal; April 17, 1964, p. 5; April 6, 1967.

[4] Walter Winchell, quoted in Robert Sherrill, The Accidental President, (New York: Pyramid, 1967) p. 120. Anderson, like Henry Crown's employee Arnold Grant, was also a director in William Zeckendorf's Webb and Knapp empire. John Fain, the Fort Worth FBI Agent who "interrogated" Oswald on his return from the Soviet Union, described Anderson as his "good" friend, debating colleague in Junior College, and erstwhile political patron (4 H 404).

and Florida Syndicate, a man close to Meyer Lansky.[1]

~~brother of the Frank Coppola who was convicted in Italy for smuggling heroin to New Orleans.~~[1]

In the postwar period, Henry Crown expanded his sphere of operations to include such growth miracles as Hertz (Lehman Bros. and Edward Orrick McDonnell of Pan Am). Above all, Crown's business contacts seem unerringly to have given him added political leverage, and vice versa. His connections with Lyndon Johnson and the Democrats through General Dynamics were balanced with his links to both liberal and conservative Republicans through his years as Vice-President and director (since 1949) of Hilton Hotels. A fellow director of Hilton Hotels International was Brook Club member J. Clifford Folger, described by Esquire in 1964 as "financier and chief fund-raiser for Nixon over the years"[2]; Hilton's son Barron Hilton, a Hilton executive, was also director of Eversharp with Patrick Frawley, a leading Goldwater and Reagan supporter. Crown was also a fellow-director of City Products Corp. with George E. Allen, the wheeler-dealer "friend of Presidents" (and Byars) who passed effortlessly from playing poker with Truman to playing bridge with Eisenhower.[3]

Henry Crown, in other words, belonged to a privileged circle of a dozen or so politically-oriented investors who had strong links with all the leading candidates for the presidency -- at least until 1963, when the Kennedy family appeared to sever its links with General Dynamics and the oil depletion lobby dominated by the Murchisons and

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[1] Reid, The Grim Reapers, pp. 106-07.

[2] R. Evans and R. Novak, "Unmaking of a President," Esquire (Nov. 1964), p. 92.

[3] NYT, Nov. 10, 1959, p. 53; Apr. 30, 1960, p. 24. Truman later referred to Allen as a "fixer".

Bobby Baker. Kennedy thereafter was, even if President, an "outsider" to this circle of private power. In this privileged circle, private "intelligence" (and control) of public decisions was the key to astute financial decisions. It is thus no accident that in this same circle the spheres of the CIA and of illicit stock deals converged, and at times overlapped.

A revealing example of this overlap is the David, Joseph, Inc. and Winfield Baird Foundation, since exposed as a CIA "conduit" for the subsidy of oil-linked CIA fronts such as the American Friends of the Middle East.[1] In the same politically active year of 1963 the House Select Committee on Small Business (headed by Representative Patman) found that this and two other family foundations headed by David Baird "have repeatedly violated Treasury regulations" by buying and selling stock as tax-free securities dealers on behalf of men such as Henry Crown, Joseph Binns, Conrad Hilton, Barron Hilton, William Zeckendorf and Lou Chesler.[2] In 1964, for example, a Baird foundation, acting on behalf of Henry Crown and Barron Hilton, helped a Loeb Rhoades syndicate finance the acquisition of the $11 million Hotel Statler Co. by Hilton Hotels.

Baird was a co-director of Hilton Hotels International with Crown, Binns, Conrad Hilton, and Folger the "chief fund-raiser for

[1] NYT, March 5, 1967, p. 36

[2] U.S. Cong., House, Select Committee on Small Business, Tax Exempt Foundations and Charitable Trusts, Part II; NYT, Oct. 20, 1963, p. 77. In 1968, the Securities and Exchange Commission closed its inquiry into the Baird Foundations on the grounds that Baird was now sick and retired, and the foundations inactive (NYT, July 9, 1968, p. 57).

Nixon". He was also for a brief period a co-director, with George E. Allen and Texas oil millionaire Sid Richardson, of Floyd Odlum's Atlas Corp., which (like Lehman Brothers) had invested heavily both in United Fruit and in General Dynamics. Floyd Odlum, a major figure in Democratic politics, was through the 1950's continuously indebted to the tax-free Baird Foundations for amounts ranging from $1.2 to $2.1 million. In the same period similar indebtedness was incurred by Robert R. Young and Thomas Deegan of the Republican-oriented Alleghany Corp, whose mutual fund subsidiaries, grouped under Investors' Diversified Services, Inc., picked up Richard Nixon as a director in the late 1950's.

The Baird Foundations also participated in illicit stock purchases with Allen & Co (the firm of Charles Allen, no relation to George E. Allen). Charles Allen was a Nixon Republican just as the Murchisons were Johnson Democrats; but meanwhile Allen and Co. frequently engaged in joint ventures with the Murchisons (such as Hampco, the meat-packing plant which kicked back a "finder's fee" to Bobby Baker).[1] Charles Allen was also involved in at least one enterprise (Hudson Leasing) with Ezra Zilkha of the Great Southwest Corp. In 1956 Baird and Allen & Co. purchased $22 million worth of Warner Brothers stock, the former acting on behalf of Serge Semenenko; Semenenko, a Russian-born "mystery man of the banking world"[2] had business links with the Schlumberger family, helped finance Lou Chesler's and Meyer Lansky's gambling development in the Bahamas,[3] and is said to be a personal friend of George de Mohrenschildt. The

[1] In 1964 Murchison and Allen capital bought out Lou Chesler's $650,000 investment in Seven Arts; and thus spared the company an impending stockholders' battle over its controversial investment in Chesler's hotel-casino in the Baha (Wall Street Journal, July 9, 1964, p. 11; July 24, 1964, p. 11).

[2] Jean Schlumberger was a Vice-President of Tiffany & Co., of which Walter Hoving was Chairman and Semenenko a director. Through the parent Hovin Corp. Semenenko also dealt with Herbert Schwartz, Clay Shaw's employer as a co-founder and director of the International Trade Mart in New Orleans.

[illegible]

First National Bank of Boston, of which Semenenko was Senior Vice-President, also participated with Crown, Baird, and Loeb Rhoades in the Statler-Hilton purchase.

The 1963 Patman Foundation Report also revealed that Baird, the trustee of a CIA "conduit" foundation, also served as "financial advisor" to the law firm of Lawrence Wien, a specialist in shady real estate syndications and tax-saving leasebacks. Among those profiting from Wien's tax-saving leasebacks were both Henry Crown, who sold out his Empire State Building to a Wien syndicate in 1961, and the gambler-owners of the Desert Inn in Las Vegas, who arranged in 1959 to lease their own hotel-casino from another Wien syndicate. Thus Wien himself acquired a personal interest in the syndicate, "Desert Inn Associates", while among the directors of the leasing "D.I. /Desert Inn/ Operating Company" were Meyer Lansky's associate Morris Dalitz, who had grown rich from his early connections with Jimmy Hoffa in Detroit, and Morris Kleinman, who served three years in 1934-37 for federal income tax fraud. A third lessor was Allard Roen, who in 1962 escaped sentencing in the $5 million Guterma-Zilkha stock-fraud case by turning states' evidence for Robert Kennedy, in his indictment for perjury of another Syndicate-linked politician, McCarthy's investigator Roy M. Cohn.[1] Roen's patron and co-defendant, Sam Garfield, was a bankroller and lifelong

[1] Patman Foundation Report, pp. 80-81; Demaris, Captive City, p. 226; Turner, Gamblers' Money, pp. 188-94, 225-27. Roy Cohn, who was ultimately acquitted, admitted knowing Carry Catena, a New Jersey mafioso who was underboss to Carlos Marcello's partner Frank Costello and involved in four Las Vegas casinos with Meyer Lansky (Life, Sept. 29, 1967).

friend of Bobby Baker's partner Ed Levinson.[1] A third co-defendant, Herman Brann, was a U.S. intelligence agent in World War II.[2]

Wien was trustee of the Lawrence A. Wien Foundation which the Patman Committee found to operate much like Baird's; in fact it had received sizable contributions from both the Baird Foundations and from the Desert Inn in Las Vegas. The Wien Foundation had invested $50,000 in the syndicate which bought the Empire State Building from Henry Crown, but later assigned its interest to Wien, who immediately reassigned it to a Jacques L. Bril in Miami Beach. (Wien, the Foundation assured the Patman Committee "neither paid nor received anything for these participations"; the transfer was "routine").[3] Bril, a man who grew rich from the development of lie detectors and listening-in devices, was now an investor in Florida real estate, a special deputy sheriff of Miami's Dade County, a communications and intelligence officer in the New York National Guard, and "monitoring officer" for the Civil Air Patrol.

With such influential connections, the only time that Henry Crown ever seemed to risk a major loss was his ill-advised merger with General Dynamics. The super-firm's losses and legal difficulties of 1960 and 1961 seemed to have been more than compensated for by the 1962 TFX contract award (said to be worth $6 billion eventually, "the largest contract in the history of the government"[4]); just as his factotum Patrick Hoy stood to profit through his association with the

[1] Reid and Demaris, The Green Felt Jungle, p. 87.

[2] Turner, p. 185.

[3] Patman Foundation Report, p. viii.

[4] Demaris, Captive City, p. 227.

Zeckendorf-Dallas-Wilkha land speculation. But in late 1963 the TFX award, and possibly the entire military-industrial complex, was threatened by an ominous Senate investigation. The Crown interests (eventually sold for $120 million) represented the largest bloc of stock in General Dynamics; and the Commission (as is revealed by its efforts to avoid the subject) was only too aware of the strange link between Oswald and Max Clark who worked with industrial security at the Fort Worth plant of General Dynamics. One would think, therefore, that the Commission would have bent over backwards to avoid any suspicion that the pervasive political influence of Henry Crown reached into the workings of the Commission.

The Commission did not take such precautions; its course of action was precisely the opposite. It chose to put in charge of investigating the possibility of a "conspiracy" one of its fourteen assistant counsels; a Chicago lawyer by the name of Albert E. Jenner, Jr.[1] Others have noticed Jenner's strange and unprofessional tactics, bullying some witnesses and coddling others, persisting in vain after some answers while cutting off others he did not want to hear.[2] Jenner and his co-counsel Wesley J. Liebeler are in the eyes of most critics the two villains of the Commission, an impression not altered by Liebeler's own feeding of certain specific criticisms about the Report to Edward Jay Epstein.

In early 1964, while bullying and coddling witnesses before the Warren Commission, Jenner was also representing Henry Crown in what threatened to be a very important case -- a challenge by a Mrs. Stern

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[1] Albert E. Jenner, Jr., on WNYC-TV, Dec. 23, 1966; cited in Meagher, Accessories After the Fact, p. 285.

[2] Weisberg, Whitewash, p. 205; Meagher, pp. 51, 285, 290.

to his exclusive ownership of the Materials Service Corp.

> Crown told Drew Pearson that he was more worried about the Stern suit than the Senate investigation of the TFX contract..., In 1949, Mrs. Stern... petitioned Probate Court....Her petition was granted by Judge George Schatz, who was summarily relieved the following day. The petition was subsequently reversed. Attorney Jenner explained to Mrs. Stern that Judge Schatz's removal was "just a coincidence. His time was up." At the moment, the judge was in the process of adjudicating seven other cases.[1]

In 1970, after a series of common stock purchases, Henry Crown returned to the board of General Dynamics; another new director in his group was his old attorney Albert E. Jenner Jr.[2] Nor was Jenner the only lawyer whose clients had possible links with the assassination. Francis W. H. Adams, another assistant counsel, was a Tammany "Reform" Democrat from New York City who had represented the Murchisons back in 1959 during their falling-out with the Kirby family over control of the Alleghany Corp. and Investors' Diversified Services.[3]

That the Commission should have put Crown's attorney in charge of the "coincidences" of the assassination is quite in keeping with the Commission's own make-up. Four members

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[1] Ovid Demaris, Captive City, p. 229.

[2] Carol J. Loomis, "Who Wants General Dynamics? Henry Crown, That's Who", Fortune (June 1970), p. 193.

[3] NYT, Dec. 24, 1959, p. 27. In this context it seems possible that the "Maurice Moore" who is one of the additional "lawyers, secretaries, and clerks" thanked by the Warren Commission for "their unstinting efforts" (R481) was Maurice T. Moore the senior counsel and director of General Dynamics, and partner of Roswell Gilpatric whose role in the TFX had been challenged. Moore was a director of Time-Life; thus one wonders whether these "unstinting efforts" involved the role of life in retouching and re-shaping such central pieces of Commission evidence as the Zapruder film and the "rifle photography" to say nothing of rewarding Marina.

of the seven-man Commission were members of Congress from the two parties in which the influence of Crown and his associates was well-entrenched. Of the two "civilians", one was Allen Dulles who in 1954 had empowered the CIA (using Guy Banister) to bail out the United Fruit (Lehman) and railway (Loeb Rhoades) interests in Guatemala. The other was John J. McCloy (Brook Club), currently a director of United Fruit with Robert Lehman and Charles Appleton Meyer (Brook Club), who in turn was a fellow-director of the Republic National Bank in Dallas with Rouhe's employer Lewis W. MacNaughton.

Hale Boggs in particular was said in Washington to collaborate already with his lawyer son Thomas Hale Boggs, Jr., a registered lobbyist who in addition "worked on behalf of the Hilton Corporation, the Parvin-Dohrmann Corporation [which fronted for Landry interests in the Flamingo], the Baltimore Contractors, Inc., [and] General Dynamics"[1]

[1] Robert H. Winter-Berger, The Washington Pay-Off (Lyle Stuart, 1972), p. 197: "Boggs, Jr. was to his father what Bobby Baker was to Lyndon Johnson. It was common knowledge around Washington [illegible] of the team of Boggs and Boggs couldn't get a bill through the House, [illegible]"

Most critics of the Warren Commission and its Report have focussed on the conflicting testimony about the events in Dealey Plaza, and related evidence concerning the assassination itself. This has not been our subject: we have tried instead to document the Warren Commission's conspiratorial efforts, abetted by the FBI, to conceal the existence of covert combinations (or what might loosely be called conspiracies, though Oswald's may not have been strictly-speaking illegal) before the triple killings. Oswald, we have argued, was part of an un-named intelligence network (probably military, and possibly naval), along with some of his [illegible] associates in Dallas and New Orleans. Ruby was unquestionably familiar with gambling and narcotics figures involved with the Syndicate and more specifically Meyer Lansky. In the area of New Orleans right-wing anti-Castro (and anti-Kennedy) activities the intelligence and Syndicate networks (Oswald's world and Ruby's) definitely overlapped, as they did also on the higher level of Henry Crown and his associates. The Commission knew of both networks, and (like the FBI) strove to conceal their interconnection.

This is not to say that Ruby and Oswald ever met, or were part of a common conspiracy. Though at least eight witnesses (5 H 232) associated Ruby with someone looking like Oswald (one key witness, Bill Chesher, died of a "heart attack" the night before the Dallas Police attempted to contact him, 15 H 50), there are good reasons for thinking this "second Oswald" was some one else, possibly Larry Crafard who suddenly left Dallas and his job at Ruby's club on

November 23.[1] All of this may have been relevant; or it may have been no more than a red herring to confuse early doubters like Joachim Joesten and Mark Lane.

Ruby had some inkling of Oswald's role, and possibly his double role: as he himself informed the Commission, his was the "voice" in the audience that corrected District Attorney Wade's revealing error, made first on the night of November 22 and later repeated, that Oswald was a member of the "Free Cuba Committee" (5 H 189). This does not mean that Ruby was party to a conspiracy to kill the President; he himself protested vigorously to the Commission in Dallas that he was not, at the same time that was pleading vainly for the Commission to transfer the interrogation to Washington.[2] It does appear that Ruby's own action was ordered as part of that conspiracy, though it is possible Ruby only perceived later how his action had served the larger interests of the American right wing (5 H 210).

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[1] As the Report notes, "Ruth Paine testified that Crafard's photograph bears a strong resemblance to Oswald" (R360; cf. 3 H 95, erroneously cited as "3 H 595"; CE 453, 17 H 172). At about 2:30 a.m. November 22 Ruby and Crafard had breakfast together at the B & B cafe (19 H 356) where a waitress later thought Crafard was Oswald (5 H 232). Apparently neither the Commission nor District Attorney Wade ever interviewed this waitress. For these and other anomalies, including contradictions in Crafard's testimony, see J. Joachim, Oswald: The Truth, pp. 27-61.

[2] Mr. RUBY. I want to tell the truth, and I can't tell it here. I can't tell it here. Does that make sense to you?....I am in a tough spot.... This isn't the place for me to tell what I want to tell (5 H 196)....If you don't take me back to Washington...I won't be around to prove my innocence or guilt" (5 H 210).
Others have striven to belittle Ruby's testimony; and much of it was undoubtedly somewhat incoherent or exaggeratedly sentimental. The fact remains that he was proven correct in his prediction that "I know I won't live to see you another time" (5 H 210).

Jenner's chief ally in the suppression of evidence before the Warren Commission was Wesley J. Liebeler, the lawyer who almost committed the gaffe of asking General Walker about his anti-Kennedy speeches, and had to correct himself in mid-sentence (supra, p. 440; 11 H 425). Liebeler's relation to the principal figures of the assassination is much simpler and more blatant than that of either Jenner or Adams: "Liebeler is associated with the law firm of Carter, Ledyard, & Milburn, New York City" (R478), which is to say, perhaps the most conspicuously CIA-linked law firm in the country. At one time two alumni of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn served simultaneously as Deputy Directors of CIA, William Harding Jackson and Frank G. Wisner; Wisner set up the CIA's Plans Division (the so-called "Department of Dirty Tricks"), and was directly responsible for the 1954 Guatemala operation in defense of United Fruit. (Wisner, stepped down and later suffered a series of nervous breakdowns after being "deeply involved" in the disastrous 1956 Hungarian uprising; and finally committed suicide in 1965.[1] One wonders if his suicide has anything to do with that of Garrett Underhill, chief editor of the Army's Military Intelligence Service, and a consultant on CIA-linked special operations:[2]

> Immediately after the assassination, a distraught Underhill told friends that a semi-autonomous CIA clique which had been profiting in narcotics and gun-running was implicated....Several months later, Underhill was found dead of a bullet wound in the head... When an old friend wrote to Underhill's widow asking about his demise, the reply came from an official of a now-defunct Washington firm, Falcon Agronautics, Inc., which smacks of having been an ad hoc CIA front.[3])

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[1] Stewart Alsop, The Center (New York Harper: 1968) p. 216.

[2] For Underhill's official positions, see New Republic (Jan. 15, 1962), p. 3.

[3] William H. Turner, Ramparts (Jan. 1968), p. 62.

Liebeler's presence on the Commission staff, like that of Allen Dulles on the Commission, is one more sign of the convergence of intelligence agencies on Oswald's career in life and death, from his departure for Russia to the publication of the Warren Report. It is however less disturbing than the choice of Jenner to work with him. Whatever the true facts, the choice of investigators with intelligence connections could at least be rationalized in terms of efficiency and the so-called national interest. The choice of Jenner lends weight to speculations such as those attributed to Underhill -- that in the assassination our intelligence agencies not only supplied a "patsy" (Oswald), but had recruited those who were later responsible for the killings. Liebeler's involvement is through a public agency, Jenner's through a powerful but potentially threatened private interest.

Mosk

The most conspicuous feature of "black" U.S. intelligence operations since World War II, such as Guatemala in 1954 or even Cuba in 1961, has been their intimate link with not only the interests but the personnel of large private concerns like United Fruit. This has been often noticed in the case of the CIA; but other intelligence agencies are no less culpable in this respect. The FBI and military agencies in particular (such as the Army's Counterintelligence Records Facility) have for years collaborated with private investigative agencies like Guy Banister's in New Orleans, who maintain files on alleged "subversives" as a service for private employers.

No doubt this interaction between private and public intelligence occurs only at the margins of FBI and CIA activities. I would imagine that the regular hierarchies of these and other agencies are irrelevant to, and possibly unaware of, this interaction. The FBI in 1963 showed that it could move swiftly against right-wing criminals not linked to major economic interests, when it arrested Byron de la Beckwith and charged him with the murder of Mississippi civil rights leader Medgar Evers. These and other successes only underline the FBI's failure to make comparable progress against organized crime and its growing influence in so-called "respectable" industry.

The true "invisible government" is not the regular CIA bureaucracy, or that of the FBI, CIC, or ONI. It is rather this marginal but highly-placed strategically located zone where private and public intelligence services overlap. Though I have no idea who pulled the triggers on November 22, 1963, I am convinced that men in this zone of overlap oversaw their criminal actions before as well as after the events. To say this is not to offer a solution to the Kennedy assassination mystery. It does however indicate where a more objective Commission might begin its inquiries. For example John Crichton

of "Army Reserve Intelligence Service" should be asked when he first heard of Oswald and Colonel Castorr, and how he came to suggest that Ilya Mamantov serve as Marina's interpreter. James Hosty of the FBI should be asked to identify the "Army intelligence agent" with whom he spent the morning of November 22. Oswald's links with the Dallas branch of the Cuban Student Directorate, with Bringuier, and with Jose Antonio Lanusa should be explored more fully, as well as the Cubans' links with mysterious organizers such as Dean Perkins. TP Deputy Sheriff Walthers whould be asked to tell more about Oswald's links to the "Freedom for Cuba Party", and Detective Stovall about the missing rifle ad from Kleins. Peter Gregory should be questioned about his mis-interpretations of Marina's testimony, and particularly whether the "friend" whose name he suppressed was Max Clark of Convair's Industrial Security. William A. McKenzie should be asked about his alleged coaching of Marina, as well as the way in which he came to serve as Marina's attorney. Clem Sehrt should be asked under oath if he was not approached by Marguerite Oswald in the 1950's about arranging for her son's entry into the Marines; he should also be asked about his apparent links to the Syndicate.

Truthful answers to these and other elementary questions would, I am confident, lead towards the true story of what happened in Dallas. The discovery of this truth would achieve far more than the arrest of murderers still at large. It would facilitate the exposure of the "invisible government" to which we have alluded, still so powerful that the patent and shameful cover-up of the Warren Commission is defended or accepted by almost every "responsible" spokesman in the land.

25 missing
?46?

VIII KENNEDY

~~VIETNAM 1963: THE WAR AND THE ASSASSINATION~~

Accidently or not, the assassination of John F. Kennedy on November 22, 1963 marks a turning-point in the evolution of United States policy in Indochina. At the very least the Administration plans for "Vietnamizing" the war, announced in the White House statement of October 2, 1963, were abruptly terminated. In this statement McNamara had predicted that the "major part" of the U.S. military task in Vietnam would be completed by the end of 1965, and that, as a first step, 1,000 U.S. troops (out of a total approaching 16,500) would be withdrawn by the end of 1963.[1] It seems likely furthermore that the sudden alteration of plans to withdraw the 1,000 troops was only the outward symbol of a much more far-reaching policy change, of a new or renewed commitment which would ultimately lead America from an "advisory" to a combat role.

Two authoritative sources confirm that the White House Statement reflected more than simple Pentagon optimism about the success of its Vietnam program, as Roger Hilsman once suggested.[2] Chester Cooper described his vain efforts in the West Basement of the White House, with McGeorge and William Bundy, to have the sanguine reference to a 1965 deadline removed before publication. Bill Bundy, then Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, revealed that the sentence was there "under instructions"; instructions which McNamara, when phoned

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[1] White House Statement, October 2, 1963, in Public Papers of the Presidents, John F. Kennedy, 1963 (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 759-60: "Secretary McNamara and General Taylor reported their judgment that the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. training personnel. They reported that by the end of this year, the U.S. program for training Vietnamese should have progressed to the point where 1,000 U.S. military personnel assigned to South Viet-Nam can be withdrawn."

[2] Roger Hilsman, To Move a Nation, p. 510.

by Bundy, declined to overrule. Cooper concludes that "the sentence may have been worked out privately with Kennedy and therefore imbedded in concrete".[1] This leads credence to Ben O'Donnell's revelation in Life magazine that Kennedy, after a meeting with Senator Mansfield in the spring of 1963, told O'Donnell

> that he had made up his mind that after his re-election he would take the risk of unpopularity and make a complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam...in 1965.[2]

The October 2 White House Statement would thus be one step towards implementing this disengagement.

The public rhetoric about a 1,000-man withdrawal was soon translated into more detailed planning. On October 31, 1963, only hours before the overthrow of Diem on November 1, Kennedy reiterated the McNamara announcement, and added

> I think the first unit or first contingent would be 250 men who are not involved in what might be called front-line operations.[3]

This statement described the 220 or so nontechnical personnel who were in fact withdrawn from Vietnam on December 3, 1963 -- the only such troops to be withdrawn at all.

The startling turnaround on the repatriation of the 1,000 troops can only be attributed to the change in the U.S. Presidency. The implementation of this withdrawal was discussed and agreed to at a high-level conference in Honolulu on Wednesday, November 20, at which Rusk, McNamara and McGeorge Bundy from Washington met with Admiral Felt, Ambassador Lodge and General Harkins. Apparently the mood of this meeting was relatively relaxed and optimistic:

> The principal U.S. authorities concerned with the war could still detect enough evidence of improvement

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1/ Chester Cooper, The Lost Crusade: America in Vietnam (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1970), p. 316. Cooper is correctly described as a CIA veteran (Richard Pfeffer, ed., No More Vietnams, p. 91); his book indeed notes that he fought in the China Burma India Theater with the OSS in World War II and subsequently has been a specialist in that area of government". His book fails to mention the more critical, if more symbolic, question of the 1,000 troops to be withdrawn in 1963.

2/ Kenneth O'Donnell, "LBJ and the Kennedys," Life (Aug. 7, 1970), p. 51; (Aug. 3, 1970, p. 16. See Life, p. 52: "The President's order to reduce the American personnel in Vietnam by 1,000 men before the end of 1963 was still in effect on the day that he went to Texas." (It was not four days later.)

3/ Public Papers, p. 828. See General Times, in NYT, Nov. 16, 1963, pp. 1, 8.

to justify the repatriation of a certain number of specialized troops.[1]

If Kennedy had returned from his visit to Dallas on November 22, he would have had lunch with Lodge alone at his Virginia country estate on Sunday, November 24—another indication that no major bureaucratic decisions on Vietnam were intended for that day.[2] Instead that Sunday was to see, as the new President's first act of official business, a second high-level meeting on Vietnam. All of the Washington participants in the Honolulu meeting (including Rusk, who but for the assassination would have been in Tokyo) met again in Washington. A new face was that of CIA Director John McCone, who had not been invited to Honolulu; he and McGeorge Bundy were the only participants to spend time (20 minutes) with the new President prior to the meeting.

Accounts of the second meeting differ, particularly with respect to the role of the President himself. It is agreed however that Lodge, and probably most of the other civilians, told Johnson that "if Vietnam was to be saved, hard decisions would have to be made."[3]

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[1]Council on Foreign Relations, The United States in World Affairs, 1963 (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 195. President Kennedy had said on November 14: "We are going to bring back several hundred before the end of the year. But I think on the question of the exact number, I thought we would wait until the meeting of November 20th" (NYT, Nov. 15, 1963, p. 18).

[2]Tom Wicker, JFK and LBJ: The Influence of Personality on Politics (New York: William Morrow, 1968), p. 183. Kennedy had originally summoned Lodge home for negotiations three weeks earlier, but Lodge's trip had been postponed because of the impending overthrow of Diem.

[3]Wicker, p. 185. Lodge was an old friend of Johnson's,

Willingly or unwillingly, the new President agreed to an open-ended commitment to win in Vietnam, with the emphasis on a military rather than a political approach to the war. According to one account Johnson made his disagreement with Kennedy's tactics quite explicit:

> He would never have brought off the Diem coup (he called it "coop"), he said, because he agreed with Rusk and McNamara that the only way to subdue the Viet Cong was to kill them and not to bring the New Frontier to South Vietnam.[1]

These words reflected the bitter resentment of the Joint Chiefs and others at the "political" approach of the OSS-CIA veterans in State (Roger Hilsman, Paul Kattenburg), and Lansdale associates in the so-called "left-CIA" (notably Rufus Colfax Phillips) who, in the name of promoting a more viable government, had successfully orchestrated the various separate efforts of Vietnamese generals and colonels to bring down Diem.

Apparently the Sunday meeting agreed to a decisive ongoing commitment in Vietnam and nothing more: the painful specific decisions to bomb North Vietnam regularly and to introduce American combat troops were not taken until 1965, well after the election. The only immediate consequence of this decisive commitment was to wipe out the earlier plans for "Vietnamization"; despite public assurances to the contrary, a Congressional committee was told officially in February 1964

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who had once recommended Lodge to Eisenhower for Secretary of Defense.

[1]Alfred Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 761.

that "the basic policy is not that we are going to stay in Vietnam in a support function as long as needed to win the war."[1] Some 220 military police were withdrawn on December 3, but no others; starting from a level of about 16,500 in October (up from 14,000 in June) the U.S. troop level on Dec. 31, 1963 had reached a level officially reported as either 16,575[2] or at least 16,263.[3]

Subtitle to next page

This startling reversal of a Vietnamization policy, at an unscheduled "crisis" meeting only four days after that policy's implementation, is an ominous harbinger of the week in April 1970 when a Vietnamization announcement by Nixon was suddenly followed by a "crisis" decision to send U.S. troops into Cambodia. What could have forced the new President to reach a "crisis" decision on Vietnam 48 hours after being sworn in? There were indeed new developments in Vietnam between the assassination of Diem on November 2 and that of Kennedy on November 22, but these were political rather than military:

> new proposals for a negotiated settlement involving the reunification of all of Vietnam, as envisaged in the 1954 agreements, and its neutralization on something like the Laotian pattern.[1]

Sometime in November 1963 U Thant presented Washington with plans for a neutralist coalition government that would have included some of the pro-French Vietnamese exiles living in Paris.[2] At this time Hanoi "gave indications of a renewed interest in a 'political' solution" along the lines of reunification and neutralization proposed by de Gaulle himself on August 29.[3] The clandestine radio of the National Liberation Front, broadcasting in South Vietnam, began in November a series of appeals for negotiations aimed not only at the Vietnamese people, but also at their new leaders in the military junta that succeeded Diem.[4] Recently it has been suggested that the French themselves approached the United States in November at the same time as U Thant, with a formula for neutralization that interested President Kennedy even if it horrified elements in the U.S. State Department. It is possible, though by no means clear, that the French initiative may also have been linked to the possibility of a rapprochement over Cuba. In any case, one

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[1]U.S. Cong., House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, Winning the Cold War: the U.S. Ideological Offensive, Hearings, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess. (February 20, 1964, statement by Robert Manning, Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs), p. 311, emphasis added.

[2]U.S. Cong., House, Committee on Appropriations, Department of Defense Appropriations for 1967, Hearings, 89th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1966), p. 378.

[3]U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, Gulf of Tonkin, 1964 Incidents, Part Two, Supplement, 90th Cong. 2nd Sess. (1968), p. 2.

[1]Stebbins, pp. 193-94.

[2]NYT, Mar. 9, 1965, p. 4; cited in Franz Schurmann, Peter Dale Scott, and Reginald Zelnik, The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam (New York: Fawcett, 1966), p. 28.

[3]Stebbins, p. 194, Schurmann, Scott, and Zelnik, pp. 24, 28.

[4]Schurmann, Scott, and Zelnik, pp. 28-29, Wicker, p. 189.

sure fact is that President Kennedy,

> shortly before he was assassinated...had ordered a complete review of U.S. policy in Southeast Asia to confront the new set of conditions which developed with the overthrow of President Diem on November 1, 1963.[1]

There is no doubt that at this time proposals for the neutralization and reunification of Vietnam were taken seriously in Washington, if only by their opponents. Authoritative witnesses attest to

> Washington's apprehension that Diem's unstable brother, Nhu, was trying to make a 'neutralist' settlement with the Viet Cong and North Vietnam through French intermediaries.[2]

Even Joe Alsop, long a chief panegyrist for the Ngo Dinh Diem family and a bitter critic of journalists who reported a "dark, indignant picture" of Vietnam, conceded belatedly that "the unbalanced Nhu" had actually begun such negotiations.[3] As late as August the prevailing opinion in Washington was that, on balance, the overthrow of the Diem family would probably hurt the war effort more than it would help it. Along with other factors, such as Nhu's use of Vietnamese Special Forces in September against the Buddhist pagodas, Nhu's conspicuous dallying in the same month with French and Polish diplomats certainly helped tip the scale in Washington against him.

Up to the Diem overthrow U.S. policy was still, in the President's phrase, to support whatever promoted the war effort. There was no bureaucratic support for Robert Kennedy's opinion, expressed at the September 6 meeting of the National Security Council, that if in the end a Communist take-over could not be successfully resisted "now was the time to get out of Vietnam entirely, rather than waiting."[1] Rather the debate was between the "nation-builders" or proponents of "political" warfare (mostly ex-OSS and CIA) and the proponents of a conventional "military" approach.

This relatively simple issue was enormously confused by the mounting evidence that Diem and Nhu (who were supported almost unanimously by the U.S. generals) were using Vietnamese para-structures such as the Can Lao secret party apparatus and Special Forces (set up with help from the CIA) as alternative power-bases to challenge the pro-U.S. hierarchies of the Vietnamese Army. Thus State, Defense and

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[1] Edward Weintal and Charles Bartlett, Facing the Brink (New York: Scribner's, 1967), p. 71.

[2] Wicker, p. 188.

[3] Washington Post, May 15, 1964.

[1] Roger Hilsman, To Move a Nation (New York: Doubleday, 1967), p. 501. This observation by the Attorney General is quite compatible with Marguerite Higgins' report that he thought Lodge a "terrible" ambassador, notably for having failed to maintain close contact with Ngo Dinh Diem. Like many Catholics, Robert Kennedy seems to have had a "win or get out" attitude, in which the alternative to Diem was not some new military client, but disengagement. Not to have overthrown Nhu would have meant tolerating the French neutralist initiative behind Nhu's negotiations.

the CIA were all split internally on the issue of overthrowing Diem. To some extent the split was generational, since lower echelons in all three agencies (Hilsman in State, Col. John Vann in the military, Rufus Phillips in the CIA and AID) tended to favor the "nation-building" approach of United States Colonel Lansdale and Vietnamese Colonel Pham ngoc Thao. But the bureaucratic debate in Washington was restricted entirely to modes of intervention. Robert Kennedy, more powerful as the President's brother than as a Cabinet member or bureaucrat, had raised the possibility of no intervention at all.

Seen in the light of this radical suggestion, one can see how the issue of withdrawing 1,000 troops, though more of a symbolic issue than a substantive one, could be regarded as of such importance as to merit a Honolulu Conference. After the fall of Diem there were both external and internal reasons for the President to consider disengagement more seriously. Chief among the former were the steps which were being taken towards rapprochement with both China[1] and particularly the Soviet Union; chief among the latter was Kennedy's well-established but growing alienation from the U.S. military, the CIA, and even the State Department.

Following Kennedy's call for accommodation at American University on June 10 and Khrushchev's reply of July 2, a test-ban treaty had been rapidly negotiated by world's three

[1]Hilsman was scheduled to deliver a speech about China on December 13, 1963, a carefully-worded speech that was "clearly ...based on a willingness to reach an accommodation with the Chinese Communist regime" (Hilsman, p. 352).

nuclear powers and signed in Moscow on August 5, the first significant East-West treaty since the Austrian Peace Treaty of 1955. The U.S. press began to speak of the "spirit of Moscow" as it had earlier of the "spirit of Camp David"; the New York Times noted how, at a reception for the treaty's signers, toasts of friendship were drunk "as a Soviet band played Gershwin's 'Love Walked In'."

In Kennedy's last days the United States and the Soviet Union were moving towards further agreements on wheat sales and cultural exchange. These negotiations were imperilled by the Soviet detention on October 31, of Yale Professor Frederick C. Barghoorn as an intelligence agent. After Kennedy protested on November 12 that Barghoorn was "innocent of any intelligence mission," the USSR released Barghoorn four days later, "in view of the personal concern expressed by President Kennedy."

The test-ban treaty led to some initial friction with the French, who had not yet developed their nuclear capability; and this friction has been linked to de Gaulle's offer of August 29 to help Vietnam achieve unity and shake off "foreign interference." Nevertheless by November there were distinct signs of an improvement in U.S.-French relations: the French President, it was agreed, would visit Washington in February 1964.[1] This visit, which would have been highly significant in the light of de Gaulle's Indochina policy and recognition (in

[1]Stebbins, p. 119; Schlesinger, p. 871.

January 1964) of Peking, was another victim of the Kennedy assassination. But the fact it was contemplated lends credence to the authoritative rumors that Kennedy in his last days, to the dismay of the State Department, was seriously considering French initiatives on Vietnam and possibly Cuba. Kennedy himself told Gavin in late October,

> "Well, I am going to see the General in the next few months, and I think that we will be able to get something done together."[1]

The amelioration of U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations began with the two countries' narrow avoidance of war over Cuba in October 1962, and was hastened by their increasing accommodation over Cuba throughout 1963. Paradoxically, the excesses of the anti-Castro forces inside America helped in turn to accelerate this accommodation. The United States, for its part, did not invade Cuba as the Russians had earlier expected. The Russians in turn, though they had already shown their ability to shoot down an American U-2 with Cuban-based SAM's, tacitly accepted U-2 overflights of Cuba (since Castro had rejected the UN inspection which Khrushchev had proposed) "by instructing the Russians at the SAM sites to leave the U-2s alone."[2]

Nevertheless, despite the resulting American interest in having SAM sites manned by Russians, rather than the

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[1] Schlesinger, p. 871.

[2] Schlesinger, p. 834. This brief page is to my knowledge the only allusion by Schlesinger, Sorenson, or Hilsman, the three Kennedy Administration inside historians, to the dramatic but short-lived altering of U.S.-Cuban relations in 1963.

unpredictable Cubans, Senator Keating continued to campaign for their withdrawal. He also charged that the Soviet concrete missile sites had not yet been dismantled; in reply Kennedy ordered McNamara to appear on television February 6 with U-2 photographic evidence refuting the allegations. CIA Director McCone was not consulted about this broadcast, and accordingly objected (the U-2 program had been transferred from CIA to Defense during the Cuban missile crisis, prompting the resignation in 1963 of CIA Assistant Director Herbert Scoville). Soon afterwards Stewart Alsop, a former OSS Captain with excellent CIA contacts, reported that this was only one of the many instances of disagreement over Cuba between McCone, who still seemed to believe that Castro's presence was intolerable, and McNamara, "The real tension nowadays" in Washington, Alsop wrote, was no longer between the CIA and State, but "between the CIA and the Pentagon":

> McNamara recently told a Congressional Committee, "I do not believe [Cuba] is being used as a base for the export of Communism to any substantial degree today." This was flatly contradictory to McCone's publicly expressed views on the same subject.[1]

Anti-Castro Cubans in the United States fully understood the implications of the U.S.-Soviet accommodation. In March a group called Alpha-66, based in the United States and using some U.S. personnel, attacked a Soviet military post in Cuba and two Soviet freighters, provoking strong official protests from

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[1] Stewart Alsop, "CIA: The Battle for Secret Power," Saturday Review of Literature (July 27, 1963), pp. 18, 20.

the Soviet Union to the United States. On March 30 the State and Justice departments announced jointly that they

> would take every step necessary to insure that such raids are not launched, manned, or equipped from U.S. territory

and surveillance of the refugees and their bases was immediately intensified.[1] Certain Cubans in Miami, according to an angry protest by exile leader Dr. Miro Cardona, were forbidden to travel outside Dade County.

> "In Florida, where we once were welcome," said one frustrated raider mournfully, "we must now operate like guerillas in the hills of Escambray. We are watched like criminals."[2]

Almost immediately, the crackdown on anti-Castro guerilla activities caused considerable abreaction among American right-wingers as well as among the Cuban guerillas themselves. On April 15

> Dr. Jose Miro Cardona angrily resigned as head of the U.S.-supported Cuban Revolutionary Council /created by the CIA as part of the Bay of Pigs operation/ accusing the United States of going back on an alleged promise (categorically denied by President Kennedy) to support a new invasion.[3]

Soon afterwards Cubans in Miami received a broadside, dated April 18, 1963, that declared unequivocally:

> Only through one development will you Cuban patriots ever live again in your homeland as freemen.../only/ if an inspired Act of God should place in the White House within weeks

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[1] U.S. Dept. of State, Bulletin (Apr. 22, 1963) Stebbins, pp. 279-80, and sources therein cited.

[2] H.H. Martin, Saturday Evening Post (June 8, 1963), p. 28.

[3] Stebbins, p. 280; NYT, Apr. 16, 1963, pp. 1, 14.

> a Texan known to be a friend of all Latin Americans ...though he must under present conditions bow to the Zionists who since 1905 came into control of the United States, and for whom Jack Kennedy and Nelson Rockefeller and other members of the Council of Foreign Relations and allied agencies are only stooges and pawns. Though Johnson must now bow to these crafty and cunning Communist-hatching Jews, yet, did an Act of God suddenly elevate him into the top position /he/ would revert to what his beloved father and grandfather were,[1] and to their values and principles and loyalties.

The flier was decorated with cowpokes and a picture of the Alamo, and signed "A Texan who resents the Oriental influence that has come to control, to degrade, to pollute and enslave his own people."

On May 6, 1963, in the wake of a conference at New York's Freedom House, the formation of a "new non-partisan Citizen's Committee for a Free Cuba" was announced. Its membership was somewhat mixed, running from prominent Vietnam lobbyists (Leo Cherne and Christopher Emmet of the International Rescue Committee), Special Warfare publicists (General S.L.A. Marshall) AFL-CIO cold warriors (Joseph Beirne of the Communications Workers, Irving Brown, and Jay Lovestone) to such veterans of the China Lobby and/or the American Security Council (ASC) as Clare Booth Luce and Edward Teller. Besides CIA-fronters such as Dr. Buell Gallagher of the Foundation for Youth and Student Affairs[2] there was Ernest Cuneo, law partner of

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[1] William Manchester, The Death of a President: November 20-November 25, 1963 (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 55.

[2] For the FYSA's links to the CIA, see NYT, Feb. 19, 1967, p. 32.

Chennault's lawyer Tommy Corcoran and President of the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA): only six weeks earlier a Senate Committee Report had condemned NANA's syndication of pro-Chiang propaganda written by an employee of Chiang's paid American lobbyist, the Hamilton Wright Organization.[1]

As a whole the committee was more activist and military-oriented than the earlier Advisory Board to the Cuban Freedom Committee (Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Samuel Meek of the Empire City Savings Bank) from which General Wedemeyer (ASC) had resigned out of intellectual incompatibility. Its objectives however, if examined closely, were paramilitary rather than military. It is true that, in a report of its opening conference called for a new national policy to liberate Cuba "by all necessary means." On the other hand, the report appeared to accept the new State Department guidelines: U.S. military action would not be needed; hit-run raids would be helpful, and would not endanger world peace if not staged from bases on United States soil.[2] One key that the Administration was interested in such a compromise offensive was the presence on the new committee of William vanden Heuvel, once a Special

[1]U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee of Foreign Relations, Activities of Non-Diplomatic Representatives of Foreign Principals in the United States, Report, 86th Cong., 1st Sess., March 23, 1963, Archibald T. Steele, The American People and China (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 126.

[2]NYT, June 4, 1963, p. 7. [emphasis added.] Three identified conference leaders (Leo Cherne, Frank Tannenbaum, Daniel James) were all members of the new Citizens' Committee.

Assistant to General William Donovan in Thailand and now a Special Assistant to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, the President's trouble-shooter on both CIA and Cuban matters.[1] Meanwhile General Wedemeyer and Spruille Braden of the John Birch Society, and former Ambassador Earl T. Smith (a governor of the Brook Club) pressed publicly for "an overwhelming invasion of Cuba" as soon as possible.[2]

As if in response to the new Citizen's Committee, a new Cuban Committee on Liberation was formally announced in Miami on May 20 by 150 exiled leaders. It too appeared to renounce the plans for a U.S.-based military operation which (according to Miro Cardona) had been developed with President Kennedy's authorization in 1962.[3] According to the New York Times

> The declaration to fight for independence comes as exiles reported that a plan for anti-Castro action had emerged from conferences with United States Central Intelligence Agency agents. This action, exiles said, calls for guerilla warfare, sabotage and infiltration of Dr. Castro's armed forces to be followed by an invasion or bombardment from an island near Cuba.[4]

[1]Robert Kennedy served with Maxwell Taylor on the committee that reviewed the CIA after the Bay of Pigs disaster, and also with both Taylor and Ed Murrow on the President's cold war strategy committee (Sorenson, p. 631). Mr. vanden Heuvel was close to the Kennedy family. He represented Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy in the Manchester case and has since written a biography of Robert Kennedy.

[2]NYT, May 8, 1963, p. 10.

[3]NYT, Apr. 19, 1963, p. 14.

[4]NYT, May 21, 1963, p. 14. It has been suggested that the island in question would have been Haiti, where Duvalier's overthrow by a combination of Dominican troops and a U.S. Marine detachment, deployed 30 miles off Port-au-Prince, was rumored

The new committees with their strategies emphasizing raids from outside the United States, look very much like a compromise to placate the rebellious sentiments of the Cuban exiles in Miami, and perhaps even to ward off the effects of the Texan broadsheet calling for assassination and a parapolitical coup d'etat. If so, the compromise appeared to keep the CIA in charge of Cuban paramilitary activities, at a time when the President had "transferred primary responsibility for any future paramilitary operations from the CIA to the Pentagon."[1]

The compromise, however, does not seem to have worked, nor to have ended the tensions with the exile community, for the simple reason that the U.S. mainland continued to be used as a base of operations. On July 31, 1963, FBI agents seized dynamite and bomb casings from a house in Mandeville, La., which it was said were "to be used in an attack on Cuba by foes of Premier Fidel Castro."[2] On November 1, investigating charges by Fidel Castro, the New York Times printed a picture of a 174-foot vessel Rex, registered out of Bluefields, Nicaragua but in fact operating out of West Palm Beach, Florida. The Times learned that the ship had been

to be imminent. The "avowed goal" at this time of Dominican Republic President Juan Bosch (who had CIA connections) was said to be "the removal of President Francois Duvalier." (NYT, May 6, 1963, p. 3)

[1] Harry Howe Ransom, "Containing Central Intelligence," New Republic (Dec. 11, 1965), p. 13; cf. Sorenson, p. 630.

[2] NYT, Aug. 1, 1963, p. 6.

bought by J. A. Belcher of the Belcher Oil Company in Miami from a Nicaragua company (Paragon) owned by the family of Nicaraguan dictator Luis Somoza. Somoza at this time was known to be in close alliance with right-wing Cuban exile Manuel Artime.[1] Belcher in turn had leased the boat "for electronic and oceanographic research to the international division of the Collins Radio Company of Dallas."[2] (The dockage for the ship was said to be paid by the Sea Key Shipping Company from a post-office box.) This description of ELINT or electronic intelligence activities (familiar to all who have read about the Pueblo incident off North Korea) suggests that one intelligence activity, ELINT--provocative but undoubtedly authorized--had been used as a front for another (gunrunning from the U.S.) which had recently been prohibited by the State Department.[3] Castro had claimed on October 30 to have captured two motor launches from the Rex: the Times noted that two motor launches from the Rex were in fact missing from their divots. The next day in Havana, a captured exile confessed that he had landed with a boatload of arms

[1] Nation, Oct. 13, 1963, p. 209.

[2] NYT, Nov. 1, 1963, p. 1.

[3] Gunrunning from the United States has never been officially tolerated by the United States. Even while the CIA was "busy gathering arms" for the Bay of Pigs, the Internal Revenue, Immigration and Customs Services were "busy rounding up gunrunners" (George Thayer, The War Business, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969, p. 153).

The situation was so confused that at one point "it became impossible to enforce the law without running the risk of one government agency handcuffing henchmen of another government agency." (Karl Meyer and Tad Szulc, The Cuban Invasion, New York: Praeger, 1962, p. 109).

in Cuba from a motor launch of the Rex, and that "The CIA organized all arms shipments."[1]

On November 20, 1963, two days before the assassination, the New York T[illegible] published a letter, dated November 7, from a Harold W. Thatcher of Forty Fort, Pa. The letter argued that the reported activities of the Rex were "disgraceful, to put it mildly" and argued once more, as did some Congressmen in this period, that

> One of the very first steps...should be to strip the CIA immediately of all operational and policy-making powers and confine it to its original function—namely, the gathering of information.[2]

It is known that the President himself showed renewed concern about the CIA in his last days—it is unclear whether this was because of Cuba, Vietnam (where the Agency had been at loggerheads with itself) or possibly some other reason such as the Barghoorn incident.[3] For whatever reason or

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[1] NYT, Nov. 3, 1963, p. 40.

[2] NYT, Nov. 20, 1963, p. 42; cf. Nation, Oct. 12, 1963, p. 211: "Once again voices have been raised in Congress calling for 'a thoroughgoing probe' of the CIA. The basic criticism is the same: intelligence and cloak-and-dagger activities should not be combined in the same agency." The Nation attributed the unrest to the tactics of a CIA faction who dissented from the withdrawal of support from Diem: "A pro-Nhu faction in the agency is said to be responsible for stories which appeared in the pro-Diem Vietnam Times that the CIA was planning a coup (designed, of course, to make a coup unlikely)."

[3] According to a story reported and widely believed in France, "the CIA had solemnly denied to Kennedy that Barghoorn was a CIA agent, but when the professor returned he told the President that he had indeed been spying for the CIA. Angered, the President threatened a shake-up of the entire agency. Later the CIA got wind of the plot against Kennedy—but did not warn him" (Time, June 12, 1964, p. 47). The story as reported by Time cannot be believed—it attributes to the whole agency what would at worst have been a criminal act by one or more of its agents—but is given some slight corroboration by two facts, one of which was not revealed until later. First, Barghoorn had indeed served as an "intelligence evaluator for the State Department" (Nation, Dec. 7, 1963, p. 377). Second, Kennedy did in his last days initiate a review of U.S. intelligence and secret operational activities.

[1] Harry Howe Ransom, "Containing Central Intelligence," New Republic (Dec. 11, 1965), p. 13.

combination of reasons, Kennedy's deep concern about U.S. covert activities was

> revealed by the fact that a few days before his death he was in the process of creating a task force to survey the global intelligence and other secret operational activities of the United States, to improve coordination and efficiency....It remained for President Johnson to receive the report and no publicity was given it.[1]

As the President and his brother cracked slowly down on Cuban exile guerilla activities through 1963, they also authorized a secret diplomatic approach to Castro directly, outside of regular diplomatic channels, to find an acceptable basis for a political accommodation. Following this authorization, an approach was made by U.S. Ambassador William Attwood, a Kennedy New Frontiersman who was then a U.S. Special Adviser at the U.N. General Assembly, to the Cuban delegate Carlos Lechuga. On October 7 Stevenson offered a formula for accommodation in a speech to the General Assembly, saying that if Castro wanted peace and relief from hit-run raids, he could have these by stopping his own subversion of other countries and taking orders from Moscow. Further telephone talks between T.V. commentator Lisa Howard and Castro's

personal aide Dr. Rene Vallejo brought the news that Castro wanted "to talk personally to us about improving relations and was pleased to find out we were ready to listen."[1] On November 11 the New York Times noted the dismissal of the Communist rector of the University of Havana, and reported that Washington specialists considered this "further evidence of Premier Fidel Castro's dispute with his orthodox Communist allies."[2]

On October 31 Vallejo told Miss Howard that Castro would like a U.S. official to come and see him alone; if necessary, a Cuban plane could be sent to preserve discretion. Attwood reported this directly to MacGeorge Bundy in the White House, by-passing Dean Rusk, just as Vallejo was apparently by-passing the Cuban Foreign Ministry. Bundy told him that "the President, more than the State Department, was interested in exploring this overture," but thought there should be a preliminary meeting with Vallejo and Lechuga at the UN to agree on an agenda. Attwood phoned Vallejo directly "at a private number in Havana"; Vallejo said that he could not come to New York but that Castro would instruct Lechuga to propose and discuss an agenda with Attwood.

> In the morning--it was November 19--I called Bundy, who said the President would want to see me and to call as soon as I'd met with Lechuga. The President, he said, would not be leaving Washington, except for a brief trip to Dallas....
>
> While we were winding up our General Assembly, I met Lechuga again. He had received instructions from Castro on November 23 to enter into informal discussion with me....I informed Bundy and later was told that the Cuban exercise would probably be put on ice for a while--which it was and where it has been ever since.[1]

This was, however, not quite the end to the story of the ill-fated Attwood-Vallejo initiative. It would of course have been understandable if the new Johnson administration had been simply too occupied to deal further with the Cuban question. Such however was not the case. On December 17 Miami News correspondent Hal Hendrix, whose stories in 1961 had helped supply a cover for the Bay of Pigs, reported more authoritatively that

> The full-scale re-evaluation of U.S. policy toward Communist Cuba, called for by President Johnson less than 3 weeks after he took office, will be completed within 2 weeks. The high priority and quick deadline indicates President Johnson's deep concern over the effectiveness of U. S. measures during the last year to eliminate the Castro-Communist menace. Although Mr. Johnson sat in on most high-level discussions of the Cuban problem during the Kennedy administration, it is known he feels a penetrating new look at the issue is urgent....Basically, the Cuba policy inherited by Mr. Johnson calls for political and economic isolation and preventing Cuba's export of revolution and subversion to other countries of Latin America [as demanded by Stevenson in his October 7 accommodation formula]. It has not proved successful. ...The Castro regime...still is solidly entrenched.[2]

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[1] William Attwood, The Reds and the Blacks (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 143.

[2] NYT, November 11, 1963, p. 1.

[1] Attwood, pp. 144, 146.

[2] Washington Daily News, Dec. 17, 1963. The article was placed in the Congressional Record (Appendix, Dec. 18, 1963, A7639) by Senator Smathers. On Sunday, April 16, 1961, amid growing rumors of the impending Bay of Pigs invasion, Hal Hendrix wrote the Miami News "It has been clearly established

Johnson's first three weeks also saw the replacement of Edwin M. Martin as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs by the Texan conservative hard-liner Thomas Mann. Martin had been the chief architect of and spokesman for the modified refugee policy in 1963; Mann had helped plan the Bay of Pigs.

In these related areas of foreign policy—Vietnam, Cuba, and the CIA—the first year of the New Johnson administration brought few radical departures from the prevailing trends over the three years of the Kennedy administration. Just as clearly frustrated, however, were the policy reviews and diplomatic initiatives which Kennedy, increasingly at odds with his own bureaucracy, had ordered or authorized in the last days before his death. Bureaucratic conflicts in these areas, particularly Vietnam, which by all accounts had become the most divisive issue within the Kennedy Administration, had produced a critical impasse to which Kennedy was beginning to seek fresh, non-bureaucratic alternatives. The cold-war syndrome of inflated defense spending at home and aggressive "containment" of Communist revolutions abroad, if not actually threatened by Kennedy's policy initiatives in his

now that there will be no mass invasion against Cuba by the anti-Castro forces gathered at bases in Central America and in this country. The News has stated this for several months." Two days later Hendrix reported rumors that the Isle of Pines had been shelled by sea and bombed, and that Raul Castro, Fidel's brother, had been captured. Hendrix' "interpretive reporting on Cuba later won him a Pulitzer Prize (Haines Johnson, The Bay of Pigs, New York: Dell, 1964, pp. 92, 117).

last weeks, was clearly thought to be threatened by influential circles both inside and outside the government. Any one of these developments would have effected the outcome of the rest: for example, the mere fact of de Gaulle's first official visit to Washington in January 1964 could not but have been interpreted by Vietnamese politicians as a clear sign that the United States was now moderating its previous opposition to the neutralizing of Vietnam.

What was most immediately threatened by Kennedy's last initiatives was the future of covert or paramilitary warfare. At that time Cuba and Indochina were the only areas where Special Forces and their local trainees were still active; and the termination of U.S. support for guerilla activities in either area would, in the context of growing detente, have appeared as a threat to their continued prosecution in the other. The Saigon "pagodas" incident of August 1963, in which it developed that the Vietnamese Special Forces had become Nhu's private repressive army, did much to shake the Kennedy brothers' original romanticism about nation-building counterinsurgency, as it shook even General Lansdale.

It is important to remember that the same cadres of instructors—Special Forces and Air America pilots—had been used in both Cuba and Vietnam, and that even these cadres had more of the flavor of an international foreign legion than of a disciplined army with a distinctively American allegiance. Like the original cadres of Special Forces

themselves, the CIA's original guerilla instructors for the anti-Castro Cubans of 1961 were of many nationalities: "Europeans, Chinese, Mexicans and a few Americans."[1] Even among the Americans, some seemed to enjoy closer rapport with foreign dictators than with the Washington Administration. For example, the American who led the Cuban frogmen ashore at Playa Larga

> had said that he was an ex-Marine with many combat missions behind enemy lines in Korea and also that he was a personal friend of Somoza, the dictator of Nicaragua.[2]

(It was the Somoza family, we should recall, that had sold the Rex to the Miami oil executive J. A. Belcher which was later used for an illicit gun-running operation in 1963). In like manner the cadres of ex-Civil Air Transport-Air America pilots who trained the Cuban fliers came from an airline whose financial and political links with the Nationalist Chinese Kuomintang appeared to be at least as strong as its contractual links with the CIA and other U.S. government agencies.

There was, furthermore, a common base in American industry for the covert operations in Cuba and in Indochina.

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[1] Haynes Johnson, p. 48: "A number of the instructors were from countries behind the Iron Curtain—Czechoslovakia, Latvia, and Poland, and there was even a Russian called 'Nick'" (p. 49). In like manner the first Special Forces cadres included "Czech and Polish escapees" who actually drilled in Polish, as well as other foreigners who "spoke Chinese, Japanese, and Korean" (NYT, Aug. 30, 1955, p. 11; Aug. 31, 1955, p. 9).

[2] Haynes Johnson, p. 103.

(Hal Hendrix was an inside spokesman for this more aggressive anti-Communist viewpoint: he was so au courant that he was able to herald — and justify — the coup of September 25, 1963, against Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic, a protagonist of Kennedy and left-OK policies in Latin America, 24 hours before the coup occurred.)[1] Johnson's first three weeks also saw the replacement of John M. Martin as Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs by the Texan conservative hard-liner Thomas Mann. Martin had been the chief architect of and spokesman for the modified refugee policy in 1963; Mann had helped plan the Bay of Pigs.

The consequences of "full-scale re-evaluations" of policy are not usually immediately apparent. The April 1964 military coup in Brazil (which American correspondents once again heralded and justified in advance) caused Maurice Duverger in Le Monde to ask if this was not "La Fin du Kennedyisme?"[2]; but the clear evidence of Johnson's new outlook came in April 1965, when he ordered in to help unseat Bosch the very U.S. Marines which Kennedy had declined to order in to help save Bosch in September 1963. In like manner the new outlook in Vietnam, hinted at in Johnson's New Year's letter and more ominously in the Tonkin Gulf incidents, was not fully apparent until early 1965, when Johnson, now an elected President, first authorized the regular U.S. air war in Vietnam.

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[1] Theodore Draper, "Bosch and Communism," New Leader (Oct. 14, 1963), p. 9.

[2] Le Monde, Apr. 10, 1964, p. 1. Charles Bartlett wrote five days before the coup, in a syndicated article of March 25, 1964, that "many still believe the army will forcefully intervene...to save the constitution. This confidence has been strengthened by the Johnson administration's shifts to a gentler line against the interference of the military in Latin American politics."

In both Latin America and Vietnam the new steps taken by Johnson did not represent radical discontinuities with previous U.S. policy (which had seen many interventions in the one area and steady escalations in the other), so much as a clear break with the alternatives being explored by Kennedy, increasingly at odds with his own bureaucracy, in the last days before his death. Bureaucratic conflicts in these areas, particularly Vietnam, which by all accounts had become the most divisive issue within the Kennedy Administration, had produced a critical impasse to which Kennedy was beginning to seek fresh, non-bureaucratic alternatives. The cold-war syndrome of inflated defense spending at home and aggressive "containment" of Communist revolutions abroad, if not actually threatened by Kennedy's policy initiatives in his last weeks, was clearly thought to be threatened by influential circles both inside and outside the government. Any one of these developments would have effected the outcome of the rest: for example, the mere fact of de Gaulle's first official visit to Washington in January 1964 could not but have been interpreted by Vietnamese politicians as a clear sign that the United States was now moderating its previous opposition to the neutralizing of Vietnam.

IX JOHNSON

~~DALLAS 1963: THE ASSASSINATION AND THE~~

~~[illegible]~~

Though U.S. strategy in Vietnam remained relatively stable through the first six months of 1964, an alert student might have detected preparations for the strategic escalation in some of the structural arrangements decided on and implemented in Johnson's first months. The month of February 1964, for example, saw the commitment of $1, 137, 743,000 in obligations for the procurement of new military aircraft, the highest such figure for any regular month since 1962, and more than double the regular monthly average. This drove the aircraft procurement program for the 1963-64 fiscal year to over $5 billion, the highest level since 1958-59, in a year when every other major defense hard goods procurement program decreased.[1] ¶ One of the prime contracts awarded in that February was by the Navy to Ling-Temco-Vought to develop and build a light attack plane (the A-7A, a plane which never worked out) for use in limited war. The contract was to be funded out of the Fiscal 1965 budget which had only just been presented to Congress, and not yet approved.[2] An informed source told the New York Times that the total contract "could run into more than a billion dollars".[3] James Ling, a prominent political supporter of Johnson, thus received a swift and stunning return on his $2 million investment of November 1963 (together with his partner D.H. Byrd) in 132,600 shares of L-T-V. L-T-V stock,

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[1] Dept. of Defense, Military Functions and Military Assistance Program, Monthly Report on Status of Funds, June 1964, p. 6; Military Prime Contract Awards and Subcontract Payments, July 1963-June 1964, pp. 19, 22.

[2] Aviation Week, Jan. 27, 1964, p. 21.

[3] NYT, Feb. 12, 1964, p. 11.

which ranged between $18.50 and $19.13 a share in 1963, had risen to $203 a share when the stock was split in 1967. Together with his patron Troy Post, who has had both political and business connections with Lyndon Johnson, Ling had bought up additional ~~[illegible]~~ stock in October 1963, through another investment firm, Electro-Science Investors. This was a shrewd stock investment for a period when aerospace issues generally had declined 10 per cent over the past six months, while stock market prices generally increased.[1] Aerospace issues collectively did not pull out of their slump until August 1964, when the Tonkin Gulf incidents finally offset (as the New York Times noted) such "adverse factors" as "the ratification of the limited nuclear test ban treaty last autumn".[2]

Another structural program of early 1964, facilitating a modernized limited war in Southeast Asia, was the construction of a modern radio communications network to link South Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. This program clearly was initiated under the Kennedy rather than the Johnson administration. The contract to build this network was announced in April 1963, together with the explanation that it would be paid for "by U.S. grants and loans (including a $3 million military assistance grant) to Thailand".[3] Interestingly, the contract was awarded to the International Division of Collins Radio, the Dallas company whose boat ran guns illegally to Cuba under cover of "electronic and oceanographic research" (presumably paid for under one of its many Navy contracts). Collins Radio had

[1] Value Line Investment Survey, October 25, 1963, p. 104. In assessing the performance of all stock groups for 1963, Standard and Poor's Corporation put aerospace at the bottom of its list (cf. [illegible], Aug. 8, 1964, p. 22).

[2] [illegible], August 8, 1964, p. 22. The article also noted how, "After the collapse of the summit conference in May, 1960, an aftermath of the U-2 incident, aerospace issues turned popular again...until the autumn of 1962."

[3] Wall Street Journal, April 29, 1963, p. 4.

additional important contracts for the building of high-powered listening posts with "intercept" capability in Taiwan.

The Wall Street Journal, in reporting this contract, failed to point out that the neutrality of Laos had just been reaffirmed by the 1962 Geneva Agreements, which excluded all foreign military technicians from Laos and forbade the introduction of war materiel into Laos without the agreement of the Royal Laotian Government. In theory at least, this Lao government was still a tripartite coalition, including a neutralist and leftist faction that twelve months earlier had been at war with the pro-Thai rightist faction of General Phouni Nosavan (a cousin of Thai dictator Sarit Thanarat). The neutralists and Pathet Lao leaders had actually charged that Phouni only captured Vientiane in 1960 with the support of Thai and Chinese Nationalist troops. Assuredly the consent of the left Pathet Lao cabinet members was never obtained to a communications network which in effect subordinated the Laotian panhandle (General Phouni's power base) even more securely to military direction from Bangkok and Saigon. Yet the U.S. military, using personnel from Collins Radio as a civilian cover, proceeded to build the communications infrastructure for a generalized Indochina war.

The network was presumably in operation by March 1964, when Phouni and South Vietnamese General Nguyen Khanh agreed secretly to violate the Agreements still further, by establishing "disguised" ARVN troops at the key bases of Saravane and Attopeu in the Laotian panhandle. In June 1964 a new top-level Honolulu Conference of U.S. officials (the first since the ill-fated meeting of November 20, 1963) met to treat "for the first time in several years...the different problems in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Thailand and Malaysia as parts of a single strategic crisis."[1] This

[1] NYT, June 1, 1964, p. 1.

implementation of a new unified strategy suggests that by this time the necessary infrastructure, a new unified communications network, was substantially complete. Shortly after, when U.S. airstrips in South Vietnam had been lengthened to handle jet fighter-bombers, the bombing of North Vietnam was inaugurated by the Tonkin Gulf incidents.

Collins Radio, in other words, was one of many U.S. firms in the covert war business: in 1963 it not only delivered guns and counter-insurgents to Cuba but at the same time was engaged in structural preparations for an enlarged Indochina war. In addition it won an important subcontract in late August 1963 from General Dynamics, to install high-fidelity radio equipment (at $100,000 per plane) in what was by then the highly controversial TFX fighter. Collins Radio was financed by Kidder Peabody and by National Aviation, two Wall Street investment firms; T.F. Walkowicz of Panel Two, the Rockefeller representative on the board of National Aviation, also served as a director of the CIA-linked firm Itek with another Laurance Rockefeller Associate, Harper Woodward, a former director of Civil Air Transport.

We have been attempting to look at Kennedy's contemplated deviations from bureaucratic cold-war policy in late 1963 in the structural context of some of the defense procurement programs (for aircraft and communications) which would have been most threatened by those deviations. We have also seen how, in the specific examples of Vietnam and Cuba, Lyndon Johnson moved swiftly to reaffirm, before the end of 1963, a cold war stance that was if anything more hawkish than before. We was that, in the case of Cuba, the "full-scale re-evaluation" of Kennedy's policy ordered by Johnson did not come in response to any external threat to order: the U.S. attitude toward Cuba hardened when there were signs of an improved under-

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standing between the two countries. I would like now to raise the possibility that Johnson's "crisis" decision on Vietnam, at an unscheduled meeting only two days after the assassination, was likewise in response to increased forces against peace inside America rather than to political changes in the Far East.

The first ground for this disturbing allegation is that the November 24 meeting's call for a "decisive commitment" in Vietnam (according to I.F. Stone), Johnson's "hard" decision "not...to lose Vietnam" (according to Tom Wicker), his decision "to increase the pressure and press on" (according to Steinberg)[1], corresponded exactly to the demands over the past six months of powerful corporate interests, whose lobbying Kennedy had hitherto resisted. These demands were publicly articulated in May 1963 by William Henderson, a Socony Mobil "Advisor on International Affairs":

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> ...we shall ultimately fail to secure the basic objectives of policy in Southeast Asia until our commitment to the region becomes unlimited, and it has not been up till now. This does not mean simply that we must be prepared to fight for Southeast Asia, if necessary, although it certainly means that at a minimum. Beyond this is involved a much greater commitment of our resources, our knowledge, and our whole national effort than we have hitherto been prepared to make, in order effectively to influence the political, economic, and social development of these countries along fruitful paths. Such a commitment will come, if at all, only in response to sustained and persuasive governmental, that is to say presidential, leadership and guidance....All three /post-war/ administrations... /have shown/ an unwillingness to go the whole way, to make the final commitment.[2] and to carry the public with them. And this has proved

Mr. Henderson's paper was read at a ~~quasi-academic~~ Asia Society conference on May 10-11, 1963, "to reappraise the whole pattern of United States policy in Southeast

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[1] I.F. Stone, New York Review, Mar. 28, 1968, p. 11; Wicker, p. 205; Steinberg, p. 761.

[2] William Henderson, "Some Reflections on United States Policy in Southeast Asia," in William Henderson (ed.), Southeast Asia: Problems of United States Policy (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963), pp. 253-54; emphasis added.

been because, by and large, semper foreign policy officials have themselves, like the general public, [illegible]

Asia", sponsored jointly by the Southeast Asia Committee of the Association for Asian Studies, and by the Asia Society. Neither organization could be called disinterested. The AAS Chairman of the conference was Prof. John F. Cady, a veteran of OSS in Southeast Asia, and the bulk of the papers read were by men, many of them professors, with intelligence backgrounds. The Asia Society, meanwhile, was dominated by its President, John D. Rockefeller III, whose father and brothers owned one sixth of Socony's stock in 1939.[1] (President Grayson Kirk of Columbia, the Chairman of the Asia Society Board of Trustees, was himself a director of Socony Mobil, as well as of an investment firm (Mation-Wide Securities) with Allen Dulles, the former CIA chief, Admiral Carney, the former Chief of Naval Operations, and Frank Pace of Continental Oil and General Dynamics.

One can safely say it was not by accident that the Asia Society provided a platform for Socony employee William Henderson, a professional Vietnam lobbyist from as early as 1956.[2] Socony Mobil itself is known to have derived 58 percent of its profits after taxes from foreign operations in 1959 (including the Far East), and the company interlocked with others having a prominent Far Eastern stake -- notably the First National City Bank of New York and ITT.[3] Together these corporations

[1] U.S. Cong., Senate, Temporary National Economic Committee, The Distribution of Ownership in the 200 Largest Nonfinancial Corporations, Monograph #29 (Washington: G.P.O., 1940), p. 1296.

[2] Cf. William Henderson, "South Vietnam Finds Herself," Foreign Affairs (Jan. 1957). It is worth recalling that when Ngo dinh Diem visited America in 1957 his first meal was a luncheon given in his honor by John D. Rockefeller (other guests included the board chairman of Chase Manhattan and the First National City Bank), and that Diem ended up in Los Angeles visiting the plant of General Petroleum, a Socony Mobil subsidiary.

[3] Socony and ITT shared two directors: Albert Lynn Williams of the F. Henry Schroder Banking Corp., and Grayson Kirk of Columbia and the Asia Society.

have visably had the power to use government and intelligence agencies to further their purposes. Take for example, John Nichol Irwin, who married a Watson heiress from ITT and has sat on ITT's board when not in government. In 1960 (when ITT was in Thailand) it was John Nichol Irwin, then Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, who flew out to Laos and gave rebel General Phoumi Nosavan the "green light" to use his army, supported by the CIA and Air America, to topple the duly-recognized government of Prince Souvanna Phouma. In 1970 John Nichol Irwin, now Deputy Secretary of State, flew out to Iran and used his governmental authority to conduct cartel negotiations with the foreign oil-producing states on behalf of the major U.S. oil companies (who were presumably prevented by U.S. law from acting in such combinations on their own.)

Mr. Henderson's enormously important paper reads like a blueprint for the program of "Americanizing" the Vietnam war effort that was ultimately to be introduced by Lyndon Johnson. It calls not only for an unlimited military commitment to the region but also for a new and "frankly interventionist" persecution of what later came to be known as the "Other War", in what Henderson calls "the interests of nation-building" (p. 263). On both scores Henderson, as he must have known, was supporting the case then being argued secretly by some banks within the Kennedy Administration, since the Ap Bac military disaster of January 1963 had raised serious doubts about the willingness of the Vietnamese seriously to prosecute the war.

Henderson's viewpoint seems to have coincided in particular with the arguments within the administration of that other oilman, CIA Chief John A. McCone, who owned over $1,000,000 in California Standard stock while in office. The concurrence of the two men's viewpoints should not

surprise us. Stanvac (a 50-50 partnership between Jersey Standard and Socony) and Caltex (California Standard and Texaco) were the two first large U.S. oil firms to invest in Southeast Asia. (The Sumatran oil operations of Caltex accounted for 70% of Indonesia's total oil production.) With annual profits in the order of from 30 to 35 percent to be reaped from Southeast Asian oil operations, and with the future of U.S. oil companies in Indonesia in 1963 depending very much on whether or not America made a decisive commitment in Vietnam, it is impossible to argue that such men, however public spirited, did not represent a powerful private economic interest.

There are indications that Henderson's arguments were addressed specifically to confidential discussions going on at that time inside the Kennedy Administration with respect to Indochina. Take for example his candid admission that the United States had "intervened in the internal affairs of Southeast Asian countries ever since the end of World War II", and his appeal that henceforth we do so "frankly" rather than "surreptitiously".[1] This appeal addressed itself squarely to the restrictions in the secret National Security Council Document NSC 10/2 of 1948, which had first authorized CIA covert or special operations, but had established the proviso that these must be secret and small enough to be "plausibly deniable" by the U.S. government.[2] In 1963, after the Bay Bac fiasco in Vietnam and especially with the increasing breakdown of coalition government in Laos, there were those in the government who argued that this limitation was intolerable; and indeed the building of a sophisticated communications network clearly had in mind the prospect

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[1] Henderson, p. 253.

[2] David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, The Espionage Establishment (New York, Random House, 1967), p. 166.

of a larger and more overt involvement.

The Rockefeller-linked financial complex of which Socony Mobil and IBM were parts did not hesitate to express its approval of Johnson's response to Vietnam. In 1965 Alfred Wentworth, Vice-President of Chase Manhattan Bank (David Rockefeller, President) for Far Eastern operations, gave a candid and authoritative rationale for U.S. actions in Vietnam:

> In the past, foreign investors have been somewhat wary of the over-all political prospect for the /Southeast Asia/ region. I must say, though, that the U.S. actions in Vietnam this year -- which have demonstrated that the U.S. will continue to give protection to the free nations of the region -- have considerably reassured both Asian and western investors. In fact, I see some reason for hope that the same sort of economic growth may take place in the free economies of Asia that took place in Europe after the Truman Doctrine and after NATO provided a protective shield. The same thing also took place in Japan after the U.S. intervention in Korea removed investor doubts.[1]

This conformity of U.S. policy in Indochina to the expressed desires of oil and banking executives is no secret, and many writers have attacked the government's elevation of private corporate interests into the bases of official U.S. policy. We need however to know much more about the mechanics of this process if we are to correct it. Our studies of escalation from 1959 to the present suggest that these mechanics have been far from effortless; and that in response to constitutional, legal, and political restraints on the use of power they have frequently been conspiratorial. The haste and secrecy with which Kennedy's decision on troop withdrawal was negated, only two days after the assassination, suggests that here, also, the negation was only effected through a private and conspiratorial process.

This impression is strengthened by Johnson's personal schedule in the two days following the

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[1] "Economic Considerations in Foreign Relations -- An Interview with Alfred Wentworth," Political, I, 1 (July 1965), pp. 45-46.

of a larger and more overt U.S. involvement.

There is a more specific reason for believing that it was pressure from the direction of the oil companies and their allies, rather than from Vietnam, that moved Johnson to make his open-ended commitment on November 24. This is Johnson's personal schedule in the days after the assassination. He did not see Lodge personally (as Kennedy had planned to do) before the unexpected emergency meeting; in fact his only personal contact with any of his top officials in this area was a half-hour briefing in his home at 10:00 A.M. that morning with John A. McCone and MacGeorge Bundy. That he should have had such a briefing is unexceptionable, and it might even seem reasonable, assuming that McCone and Bundy brought news of an emergency in Vietnam, to assume that Johnson would then have had no time to consult with other advisers. But Johnson's calender was full of appointments that day and they all were domestic: Lt.-Gov. Preston Smith and Attorney-General Waggoner Carr of Texas; Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago and his protege Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois. Shortly thereafter Waggoner Carr announced that Texas would hold its own Court of Inquiry into the Dallas assassination, a move to which Johnson responded by establishing the Warren Commission.[1]

Johnson's longest interview on that Sunday was with Robert Bernard Anderson, an old friend and Republican from Texas whom Texas oilman Sid Richardson had had installed as Secretary of the Navy and of the Treasury under President Eisenhower. The most influential post-war representative of the Texas oil interests in politics after Johnson himself, Anderson was now a partner of Carl M. Loeb Rhoades, an investment

[1] Robert Sherrill, The Accidental President (New York, Pyramid, 1968), p. 120.

firm with family and investment links to Lehman Brothers, having shared ownership (at least until recently) a large interest in General Dynamics and its controversial TFX contract. Shortly after his return to Washington from Dallas, Johnson had summoned Anderson, whom Walt Winchell soon afterwards called "LBJ's No. 1 financial adviser",[2] to Washington

> on Saturday morning, Nov. 23. For several hours on Sunday, and again on Monday, Mr. Anderson and the new President talked in Mr. Johnson's vice presidential office....Their conversations touched...on the problems of Presidential leadership and even to some degree on the substance of policy.[2]

These interviews and their background should be considered closely by those interested in the mechanics of corporate influence.

What did the two men talk about for several hours? We shall not learn from Mr. Anderson, who "said it was a social visit."[3] The Times and others speculated that Mr. Anderson voiced his "concern with the dollar-and-gold problem". This seems likely. Though subsequent experience has proven the Vietnam War to have disastrously weakened the U.S. dollar and depleted U.S. gold reserves, the oil interests and their banks saw things quite differently in 1963, intimating that a defense of peripheral oil investments (as in Indonesia) was essential to a defense of the dollar. In October 1963 the trade journal World Petroleum proclaimed (p. 35) that "repatriation of 75% of 1962 foreign earnings reduced the unfavorable dollar balance by $3,000 million."

This estimate (which exceeded the balance of payments deficit in 1962) ignored for propaganda purposes the outflow of new petroleum investments abroad. Even so, the (Rockefeller) Chase Manhattan Bank reported in 1956 that the yearly surplus of dollar earnings

[2] Robert Sherrill, The Accidental President (New York: Pyramid, 1968), p. 120
NYT, Dec. 8, 1963, III, 1, emphasis added.

[3] NYT, Nov. 25, 1963, p. 5.

(flowing into the United States) over new investments abroad (flowing outwards)

> grew to about $1.2 billion in 1964 /an eighteen-fold increase over the $65 million average of 1948-50/. Our projections indicate further growth of this surplus to roughly $2.3 billion by 1975.[1]

The total U.S. balance of payments deficit in 1964 was $2.8 billion, so that without this $1.2 billion surplus it would have been aggravated by 43 percent (or, if we subtract the dollar cost of oil imports into the U.S., by 25 percent). "Because oil plays such a vital role in the U.S. balance of payments, it makes the United States government particularly sensitive to the need for assisting its home companies" against losses abroad.[2]

Johnson and Anderson knew each other well. Though Anderson was a Republican (rumored to be Eisenhower's candidate for the 1954 presidential nomination) his close relationship with Johnson dated back almost as far as 1942, the year in which the Johnsons acquired radio station KTBC from Anderson and two associates and later built it into a $6 million TV fortune.[3] Johnson had risen to power in the Democratic party by his zealous representation of oil and gas interests, particularly in 1949, when he blocked the re-nomination of Leland Olds for a third term as chairman of the Federal Power Commission, and in 1952, when his tepid support of Stevenson helped General Eisenhower (the friend and choice of oil millionaires Sid Richardson and George E. Allen) to carry Texas.[4]

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[1] Chase Manhattan Bank, Balance of Payments for the Petroleum Industry, quoted in Michael Tanzer, The Political Economy of International Oil and the Underdeveloped Countries (Boston: Beacon, 1969), p. 47.

[2] Tanzer, p. 47.

[3] Steinberg, p. 206.

[4] Steinberg, pp. 293-97, 307; Sherrill, p. 122; cf. O'Connor, Empire of Oil, p. 208.

As president of the Texas Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association and a member of the National Petroleum Council, Anderson was one of the oil industry's most prominent lobbyists in the early 1950's; and for this reason Eisenhower named him to his cabinet as Secretary first of the Navy and later of the Treasury. Though Sid Richardson failed to persuade Eisenhower to drop Nixon and put his friend Anderson on the ticket in 1956, Ike, "on the urging of Richardson and Lyndon Johnson", did appoint Anderson to a Special /six-man/ Committee to Investigate Crude Oil Imports.[1] The resulting system of mandatory oil import quotas, passed by Congress on the basis of the Committee's report, was said to have been chiefly designed by Anderson, Johnson, and the late Senator Kerr of Oklahoma (and Kerr-McGee Petroleum).[2]

The oil import quota program ranks with the 27½ oil depletion allowance as one of the biggest political give-aways to the already super-affluent oil industry. While it benefits domestic producers by protecting their high prices, the un-tariffed licenses to import cheap foreign oil are said to benefit their holders, the international oil giants primarily, "by about one billion dollars a year".[3] Anderson is said to have been rewarded for this service to the domestic oil producers,

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[1] Sherrill, p. 122.

[2] Sherrill, p. 123; Jim Collins, The Oil Daily, June 21, 1963.

[3] Sherrill, p. 123. It can hardly be argued that this billion-dollar annual windfall (for which the taxpayer pays in the form of higher prices) was to help an ailing or over-taxed industry. "The 22 largest oil companies paid only about 4% of their income to the U.S. treasury in 1964...five big oil companies -- Atlantic, Marathon, Richfield, Sinclair, and Sunray -- paid no federal taxes at all....Even the giant of the oil industry, Standard of New Jersey, paid only a 1.7 percent rate. Uncle Sam took a mere $28,000,000 cut of Standard's whopping $1,628,555,000 gross. Texaco, the number two oil company, did even better. Its $5,800,000 tax payment on a $660,751,000 income was only eight-tenths of 1 percent. Standard of California paid $8,300,000 on a $393,188,000 income -- a 2.1 percent tax rate." (Jack Anderson, Washington Exposé, Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1967, pp. 194-96).

in the form of a million-dollar

phony deal connected by Richardson which permitted

/Anderson/ to buy oil stock for $1.00 and then sell it

for $970,000.[1]

A royalty interest in oil-farm-out properties belonging to Richardson but held by Stanolind (a Rockefeller domestic producer), Phillips, Kirby, and Sun Oil was transferred through an intermediary to Anderson for one dollar. In June 1957 Anderson sold out his interest for $810,000 to Dalada Corp., a one-time Hurchison company headed by oilman Toddie Lee Wynne. In September 1963 Dalada sold out to Perry Bass, Richardson's nephew and heir (also John Connally's former employer), so that the properties had travelled full-circle, with Anderson picking up nearly a million along the way. Half of Anderson's $810,000 was in the form of deferred payments lasting until 1972

to come out of what the wells produced. It is this

contingency payment that gave Anderson his direct interest in

oil prices during his tenure as Treasury Secretary. He had

sold producing oil rights; how much he was paid hung on

the revenues they produced.[2]

Meanwhile Stanolind's owner, Standard Oil of Indiana, became one of the top six to benefit from the oil import program, in which Phillips also picked up the Puerto Rico franchise.

On that ominous Sunday, November 24, 1963, Johnson did not need to learn from Robert B. Anderson that the international oil companies wanted a firm commitment in Vietnam. A country more likely to have

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[1] Steinberg, p. 620. For the details of the deal, see Sherrill, p. 236; San Francisco Chronicle, July 16, 1970, pp. 1,8.

[2] San Francisco Chronicle, July 16, 1970, p. 8.

occupied their attention was Argentina, where a new President, Arturo Illia, had just been elected on the program of annulling certain contracts assigning Argentina's proven oil reserves to American companies. According to a conservative American observer, the terms of these contracts gave certain oil reserves

to certain foreign interests, some reputedly associated

with the White House or Wall, so prejudicial to Argentina.

in the light of prevailing industry practice that many

veteran oilmen were astounded when the announcements appeared.[1]

It is interesting to learn that the two first companies to sign with Argentine President Frondizi in 1958 were also associated indirectly with the Anderson pay-off. The first contract was with a European-American consortium in the forefront of which was the Atlas Corporation, one of whose directors was Sid Richardson. The second was with Pan American International, a subsidiary of Standard of Indiana which after 1957 stepped up radically its foreign operations. The fourth such deal, generally regarded in Argentina as "the worst of the lot and the first which would require renegotiation" was with the investment firm Carl M. Loeb Rhoades and Company.[2]

All these contracts were negotiated with Argentine President Frondizi (ostensibly an opponent of U.S. imperialism) by Anderson's New York law partner and fellow-Texan Henry F. Holland. As the head of the State Department's Latin American section in 1953-54 under Dulles, Holland had cut off all U.S. funds to nationalized oil industries in

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[1] Simon G. Hanson, "The End of the Good-Partner Policy," Inter-American Economic Affairs, XIV (1960), pp. 79-80; quoted in Tanzer, p. 352.

[2] Harvey O'Connor, World Crisis in Oil (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1962), p. 198. Loeb oil in Argentina was sold to the Argentinians for something like two and one half times the cost of production, so that it would have been cheaper for Argentina to import oil from Kuwait.

Latin America. In August 1958 Holland, now a partner in the private law firm Anderson and Roberts, arrived in Argentina to negotiate oil contracts, in the wake of the ill-starred Latin American tour in May of Vice-President Richard Nixon.[1]

To say that Holland was representing U.S. oil interests is to give a too-restricted description of the latter's power. Both Loeb Rhoades and Atlas, for example, had long been associated with Lehman interests in General Dynamics. It would thus perhaps be more accurate to describe Holland as representing the oil interests of a financial-political-intelligence complex, involving not only the political coalition behind General Dynamics but the law and intelligence contacts surrounding Tommy Corcoran. For example Loeb Rhoades partner W.P. Dixon of General Dynamics was associated with Corcoran's partner Youngman and one-time Civil Air Transport director Duncan Lee in the insurance companies of OSS-China veteran C.V. Starr. Atlas Corp. director Samuel Zemurray had sat with Robert Lehman on the board of United Fruit in 1954, when Tommy Corcoran worked to secure CIA involvement in the Guatemala crisis. And one of the companies represented by Holland in the Frondizi contract negotiations was Corcoran's client Tennessee Gas Transmission. After stepping down from the Treasury, Robert B. Anderson became a Loeb Rhoades partner and a director of Dresser Industries, which had also been involved in the Argentine contract negotiations. These were the companies and contracts which were directly threatened in November 1963. If Robert B. Anderson said anything to President Johnson on November 24 about Argentina and the

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[1] NYT, Aug. 11, 1958, p. 30. Later Holland wrote in the New York Times about Nixon's essential popularity in Latin America (NYT, Oct. 27, 1958, p. 28).

balance-of-payments problem (i.e. oil investments abroad), Mr. Anderson was once again (as in 1957) representing not only the oil industry as a whole, but also himself. As it developed, newly-elected President Illia's threat to cancel the contracts came to nothing, thanks in part to a U.S. government threat of a cutoff of private and public investment. In 1966 Illia's government was replaced by a military junta, which "quickly made it clear that its weight was to be thrown on the side of foreign private oil companies."[1] Michael Tanzer's recent authoritative book has shown how, in the four years of the Johnson Administration, Argentina's "dramatic swing from public to private oil" has been paralleled by developments involving neighboring countries in Brazil (1964), Ghana (1966), Indonesia (1966), and finally Greece (1967). In every one of these countries, a military take-over (often with covert U.S. involvement), followed published reports of difficulties between the established government and U.S. oil companies.[2] Though there are of course many other factors involved in each of these coups, it is fascinating to discern some familiar elements in their background. For example Harold L. Oram, the registered lobbyist handling public relations for Ngo dinh Diem in the early days of his support by CIA and Rockefeller interests, was registered in 1964 as the lobbyist for Kofi Busia, the exiled Ghana opposition leader whose press conferences appeared from time to time in U.S. papers for a year before the 1966 coup and Busia's return to Ghana.[3]

Did Johnson's phone call to Robert Anderson have any connection with the assassination of Kennedy a few hours earlier? The question,

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[1] Tanzer, pp. 355-56.

[2] Tanzer, pp. 357-60.

[3] Cf. NYT, Mar. 8, 1965, p. 1; Mar. 10, 1966, p. 16.

to my knowledge, has not been raised. Nevertheless, though Anderson was not in Dallas on that day and there is nothing to link him directly to the shootings, there are at least ten connections linking Anderson indirectly to Oswald, to Ruby, and above all to those persons controlling the lives and fortunes of both Oswald and Ruby. Each of these connections may seem tenuous to the reader at first sight; but cumulatively they suggest that the Warren Commission (aided by Waggoner Carr) should have explored them further.

(1) Once a young Fort Worth lawyer, Robert Anderson had risen to prominence among Texan oilmen as manager of the W.T. Waggoner Estate, a multi-million oil and cattle-producing enterprise in Vernon, Texas. After Lee Harvey Oswald was arrested on November 22, 1963, $180.00 in clean $20 and $10 bills were seen in the possession of his wife Marina. They were contained in "a new wallet....with an advertisement that reads: 'WAGGONER NATIONAL BANK, VERNON, TEXAS'" (a family bank which was one element in the Waggoner estate). Oswald, as far as is known, had never been in Vernon. (CE 1798, 23 H 418)[1]

(2) The Waggoner estate and bank interlocked (as did General Dynamics) with the First National Bank of Fort Worth, in which Mrs. W.T. Waggoner was the fifth largest shareholder. This was the bank through which remittances were sent to Lee Harvey Oswald while he was in Russia, and in which an Oswald Trust account was

[1] Warren Commission, Exhibit 1798, Hearings, 23, p. 418 (Hearings cited hereafter in short form only). Marina said that the wallet came from Oswald's mother Marguerite, who promptly confirmed this, saying that she had been working in Vernon at the time of Oswald's return from Russia. As to the money itself, Marina changed her story. At first she said "the money was the money that Lee Harvey Oswald was saving, but that she did not know where the money came from" (23 H 418). Later she said that they both used the wallet; her husband had saved the money in New Orleans and Dallas; and ten of the dollars were loan from her friend Ruth Paine (CE 1798, 23 H [illegible]).

set up by his widow Marina and her then business manager James Martin.

(3) The FBI agent covering the Oswald case from 1960 to 1962 was John W. Fain, who interviewed Robert Oswald about his brother in April 1960, and Oswald himself on June 26, 1962, after his return from Russia to Fort Worth. Fain interviewed Oswald again in August 1962 and retired in October, the same month that the Oswalds moved from Fort Worth to Dallas. Fain told the Warren Commission that he was a friend and classmate of Anderson's at Weatherford College, and that Anderson had secured him his first employment when the latter was Chairman of the Texas Unemployment Commission (4 H 404).

(4) Carl M. Loeb Rhoades and Co., the company in which Anderson was a limited partner, had an interest in General Dynamics; and like the First National Bank of Fort Worth it had until 1962 a director on the General Dynamics Board. Max Clark, a former security officer for the Fort Worth Convair plant of General Dynamics (8 H 352), who was said by one witness to be "in some way connected with the FBI" (9 H 235), was one of the first people contacted by Oswald on his return to Fort Worth.[1]

(5) Anderson was a co-director of Dresser Industries, Inc., an oil equipment company with subsidiaries in Iran and Japan, with Lewis MacNaughton. MacNaughton's personal accountant, the Russian

[1] It is common practice for industrial security officers to be former FBI agents; cf. William Turner, Hoover's FBI, p. 334. Robert Oswald, Lee's brother, worked for Convair in 1955-57; though allegedly laid off in August 1957, he considered this firing "the best thing that ever happened to me".

George Bouhe, took such intimate care of the Oswald family in late 1962 that he is said to have been "rather mad at Marina for taking an apartment at Oak Cliff because it was rather too far for him to drive and help her when she needed help with the baby" (2 H 304). After the assassination, Marina Oswald eventually moved in with the family of Mr. and Mrs. Declan Ford, appointing them her agents. Ford had also been an employee of Lewis MacMaughton, until October 1962, about the time that Oswald first met Ford and moved to Dallas. R.B. Gilmore, the President of MacMaughton's firm of petroleum geologists, (de Golyer and MacMaughton) was on the board of L-T-V.

(6) Jack Crichton, another former MacMaughton employee who later worked for Loeb Rhoades company (Empire Trust), was an oilman and the 1964 Republican candidate for Governor of Texas who ran against John Connally. As a member of the "Army Reserve Intelligence Service" (9 H 106), it was he who first arranged for key Russians in the oil industry who knew all about the Oswalds to act as "interpreters" during Marina's first interviews with investigators. At least one of these Russians (who knew Oswald and Clark) acted conspiratorially in systematically altering what Marina had said.[1]

A fellow-director of Crichton's firm of Dorchester Gas Producing was D.H. Byrd, an oil associate of Sid Richardson and Clint Murchison, and the L-T-V director who teamed up with James Ling to buy 132,000 shares of L-T-V in November 1963. While waiting

[1] David Lifton (ed.) Document Addendum to the Warren Report (El Segundo, Calif.: Apictext Publications, 1963), pp. 330-338. (part of Commission Document 364) I shall give only one example: "(3) Can you describe the rifle that you saw? (A) I'm sorry, Marguerite Oswald also will they are showing you? Subject Lifton. Marina Oswald: I think so, but...from my translation: She says that a rifle approximately the same length as you are showing here; however, the stock

to be sworn in as President in Dallas on November 22, Johnson spoke by telephone with J.M. Bullion, a member of the Dallas law firm (Thompson, Knight, Knight, and Simmons) which had the legal account for Dorchester Gas Producing and was represented on its board. The senior partner of the law firm, Dwight L. Simmons, had until 1960 sat on the board of Chance Vought Aircraft, a predecessor of Ling-Temco-Vought. One week after the assassination, Johnson named Bullion, who has been described as his "business friend and lawyer," to be one of the two trustees handling the affairs of the former LBJ Co. while its owner was President.[1]

(7) As a Loeb Rhoades partner and director of Webb and Knapp, Anderson participated in a huge land syndicate, the Great Southwest Corp., which hoped to turn land in Arlington, Texas, between Dallas and Fort Worth, into a half billion investment. (Webb and Knapp put in $6 million). Much of the land in question had once belonged to Anderson's former friend and employer, the late Cuy Waggoner of the W.T. Waggoner estate. Loeb Rhoades and Rockefeller Center were among the original participants in the syndicate. One director of the Great Southwest Corp., Toddie L. Lynne, had (as president of the Murchison company Dalada Corp.) helped pay off Anderson in connection with the oil import program settlement of 1957. Two directors of Great Southwest represented the First National Bank of Fort Worth. James H. Martin, the manager of Great Southwest's Inn of the Six Flags, became (by an intricate sequence of "coincidences") host and later business manager for Marina Oswald: it was he who sold to the world press the highly dubious pictures of Oswald having a rifle and a Trotskyite newspaper. Today L-T-V is one of the industries which have established new plants in

[1] Steinberg, pp. 607, 626.

Arlington.

(8) Bedford Lynne, a cousin of Toddie and brother of the Great Southwest Corp.'s President Angus G. Lynne, Jr., was a business associate of Clint Murchison who in that capacity was subpoenaed by a Congressional Committee for his alleged kickbacks in 1962 to Bobby Baker. His partner in the law firm Lynne, Jaffe and Tinsley, Morris I. Jaffe, was attorney for Oswald's Russian-American patron, George de Mohrenschildt, a friend of George Bouhe (9 H 201). Like Anderson, Bedford Lynne seems to have been charged with protecting the oil interests in Washington. For example, in January 1963, when President Kennedy was threatening to reduce the oil depletion allowance, Lynne arranged a fund-raising dinner which

> raised $500,000, largely from oil men, to pay off the whopping 1960 Democratic debt. Shortly after the dinner, Clint Murchison's son, John, paid a private 90-minute call on the President...and assured fellow oil men they had nothing to worry about.[1]

The Senate Rules Committee investigations into Bobby Baker's financial deals threw further light on the ways in which Bedford Lynne translated Murchison money into political influence. Lynne testified that he was one of three directors of a firm called Sweetwater Development Corp. (incorporated at the address of Lynne, Jaffe and Tinsley) along with Clint Murchison, Jr., and Robert F. Thompson of Tecon Corp. ("owned strictly by the Murchisons"). A Washington Vice-President of Sweetwater and Tecon, Thomas D. Webb, was mentioned in connection with at least two cases in which Bobby Baker received kickbacks through deals involving Murchison companies,

[1] Jack Anderson, Washington Exposé (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1967), pp. 212-13.

Sweetwater and the Haitian-American Meat and Provision Co. (Hampco).[1] Sometime after October 1962, Bedford Lynne's law partner, William A. McKenzie, separated from the firm and set up his own law firm. In this capacity he represented Robert and Marina Oswald before the Warren Commission; and he is reported by a witness to have coached Marina with respect to a crucial "fact" she was to tell the FBI about Oswald's alleged shot at Walker (1 H 321). Henry Baer, another former Lynne partner now with McKenzie, was associated with Lynne in an insurance company, Reliance Life, whose president Maurice Carlson helped foster (and later kill) the related story that Oswald also once intended to shoot at Richard Nixon. Carlson first confirmed that his "close friend" Richard Nixon had been invited to Dallas in April 1963 (23 H 414), as did Nixon himself (23 H. 831). But Carlson abruptly withdrew his story on February 25, a day that his company's secretary, Henry Baer, spent with Marina Oswald, McKenzie, and two agents of the FBI (23 H 511).

James E. Bond, the Chairman of Reliance Life, was also Chairman of Electro-Science Investors, the firm which (with James Ling and Troy Post participating) bought heavily into L-T-V in October 1963, the month before the assassination. Bond, for whom Johnson had earlier secured the post of Region Seven Director in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, joined the board of L-T-V by 1965. Of Reliance Life's fifteen directors, at least two were representatives of insurance multimillionaire Troy Post, Ling's

[1] U.S. Cong., Senate, Committee on Rules, Investigation of District of Columbia Stadium, Hearings, 88th Cong., 2nd Sess., pp. 871, 873, 891ff., 940. Lynne, who was personally involved with Baker in a land-speculation called Texastic Corp, admitted to seeing Baker in "Dallas and Las Vegas" only (p. 891).

financial backer. One of these was Horace Woodruff, Vice-President of Post's Orestamerica Corp., of which Abe Fortas was director and counsel, and in which Lyndon Johnson was said to have a direct financial interest (through his Brazos-Tenth St. Corporation); Woodruff was also a director, with Ling and Bond, of Post's Bank of Services and Trusts in Dallas. Another director of Reliance Life, John M. Gray, was also on the board of the TexasCapital Corp., the secretary of which was Franklin Denius of Johnson's law firm, and in which Brazos-Tenth St. (i.e. Johnson) had a financial interest through the Capital National Bank in Austin. (Don Thomas, secretary of the former LBJ Co. which became Brazos-Tenth, was Denius' law partner, as was Ed Clark of the Capital National Bank, Johnson's Ambassador to Australia.)

Two further members of the board of Reliance Life, Lewis B. Lefkowitz and John Plath Green, were former law partners of H. Barefoot Sanders, the U.S. Attorney for the North District of Texas from 1961 to 1965, in whose office (and presence) key witnesses linked to Oswald and the assassination were interrogated by the Warren Commission. And, the Reliance Life and Accident office building at 505 N Ervay St. (which formerly housed Bedford Byrne's law firm) was also the address of the Walker Tire of the U.S. Secret Service.

(9) Robert B. Anderson is said by the Wall Street Journal to have been a personal friend of Lou Chesler, whose other friends and associates were said to range from William Zeckendorf of Webb and Knapp to at least one New York mafia gunman (Trigger Mike Coppola).[1] Chesler helped build a gambling palace in the Bahamas which was soon being run by associates of the big-time Syndicate operator Meyer Lansky, one of them George Radlo who was closely linked to Bobby

[1] Ed Reid, The Grip Reapers, pp. 106-07, citing the Wall Street Journal.

Baker's gambling friend Cliff Jones. Jack Ruby was a close friend of a gambler and murderer called Lewis McWillie who in 1963 was working for Lansky's Thunderbird Hotel in Las Vegas, in which Jones (a former Democratic National Committeeman) also held a stock interest.

(10) On December 7, 1963, two weeks after the Kennedy assassination and Johnson-Anderson interviews, it was announced that Robert Anderson, whom Winchell once called Lyndon Johnson's "No. 1 financial adviser",[2] and J. Clifford Folger, an IBM director whom Evans and Novak once called "financier and chief fund-raiser for Nixon over the years"[3] were together launching a private merchant bank, the World Banking Corporation in the Bahamas.[4] Folger was a director of Hilton Hotels International with Joseph Binns, whose Seven Arts Productions, a firm later bailed out by Clint Murchison and his New York ally Charles Allen, Jr., had helped bankroll Lou Chesler's gambling palace in the Bahamas. A more important Hilton director was Henry Crown, a self-made millionaire said to have business connections on the fringe of the Chicago Syndicate. As the largest single investor in General Dynamics in 1963, Henry Crown was the man who stood to lose the most if the embarrassing investigation into the TFX contract scandal were not quickly choked off. In the Warren Commission Hearings, Alfred Jenner, a

[1] In 1964 Morris MacSchwebel, the largest shareholder in Seven Arts and a partner of Chesler in other firms, was sentenced to a year and a day for selling unregistered securities (Wall Street Journal, June 8, 1964, p. 11; July 9, 1964, p. 11).

[2] Sherrill, p. 120.

[3] R. Evans and R. Novak, "Unmaking of a President," Esquire (November 1964), p. 92.

[4] NYT, Dec. 7, 1963, p. ; Dec. 8, 1963, III, 1.

well-known Chicago lawyer, was the Commission staff member responsible for investigating the possibility that Oswald did not act alone. At the time Jenner was attorney for Henry Crown in a case affecting his ownership of General Dynamics, and later became a Crown-General Dynamics' board.

Anderson and Volger were originally in partnership with the Bank of America, America's largest bank and the one with the most branches in the Far East. Later they also cut in the Belgian Banque Lambert, a bank associated in America through its subsidiary Petrofina with Sid Richardson and Clint Murchison interests, including the aforementioned Atlas Corp. that invested in Argentina. (Volger had been U.S. Ambassador to Belgium from 1957 to 1958). The Banque Lambert's holdings in North America were associated with those of the influential Schlumberger family in France, whose oil engineering firm, Schlumberger Ltd in Houston, fronted in 1961 for an anti-Castro operation near New Orleans (pp. 434-35). One of the right-wing Americans in New Orleans associated with this operation was William T. Reily, Oswald's employer in 1963; another was David Ferrie, a leader of the New Orleans Civil Air Patrol when Oswald was recruited briefly into it in 1955.

The establishment of this bank two weeks after the assassination is one more example of financial co-operation between representatives of the U.S. domestic oil producers (such the Haggerers and Murchisons) and big European companies. The collaboration between Anderson the Johnson-backer and Volger the Nixon-backer is also a reminder that some of the same big domestic oilmen who helped Richard Nixon to national prominence in the early 1950's (such as H.L. Hunt, or the Kook family of Superior Oil) tried in 1960 to secure the nomination of Lyndon Johnson as Democratic presidential candidate. The common

factor in the conspiratorial background of Oswald's activities and the Warren Commission cover-up of them likewise extends to both political parties, chiefly through the pervasive influence of oil. (We have already noted that Maurice Carlson, in business with Bedford Wynne, the oil pay-off man to Bobby Baker and the Democrats, described himself as a "close friend" of Richard Nixon.)

Such line-ups between front-running politicians and oil and other financial-corporate interests have frequently been described by radical critics of American society. But besides politics and finance, there is a third essential ingredient to this power complex, one whose intrinsic capacity for power may be difficult to measure but whose role in the mechanics of parapolitics is all-pervasive. I am referring once again to intelligence agencies, whose presence in the background of the Dallas assassination is as prominent as in all of the other crises analyzed in this book. No one, for example, has explained why it fell to Lewis MacLaughton's former employee, Jack Crichton of Army Reserve Intelligence Service and Dorchester Gas Producing, to choose a friend of MacLaughton's accountant George Bouhe to be Marina Oswald's first interpreter (9 H 106). There are other questions about the activities of Army intelligence personnel. Is it true that a Colonel Custer or Castern, thought to be "playing the role of an intelligence officer" (26 H 492) was going around with his close acquaintance General Edwin Walker and "trying to arouse the feelings of the Cuban refugees in Dallas against the Kennedy administration" (25 H 735)? Who was the unidentified "Army Intelligence agent" (4 H 451) who spent the morning of November 22 with James Hosty, the FBI agent whose name was found in Oswald's

notebook (18 H 64)? Why was Joseph Cody of the Army Counter Intelligence Corps assigned "on that assignment" to Dallas, where he made several visits to Jack Ruby's night clubs; and later, as a Detective of the Dallas Police Force, became Ruby's friend of thirteen years' standing (23 H 344)? Answers to these questions would I am sure cast more light on the mechanics of the Dallas assassination. ~~In addition there is considerable evidence in the Warren Commission volumes (too complex to be summarized here) that Oswald himself (who may or may not have been guilty of assassination) was some kind of government intelligence agent.~~

Assuredly the answers to the foregoing questions would also cast more light on the overall mechanics of the finance-intelligence complex and conspiracy. Why for example did Jack Crichton, in business with Clint Murchison's and Perry Bass's oil crony D.H. Byrd, run for Governor of Texas as Republican while serving in the Army Reserve Intelligence service?[1] Was his function to secure the victory of John Connally, the Democrat who for years had been associated in various business ventures with Sid Richardson, Clint Murchison, and Perry Bass?

The common financial background linking Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon, of which the Anderson-Volgar partnership is only one of the many traces through the years, is still alive and influential in 1971. This was made only too clear by Nixon's nomination of John Connally to be Treasury Secretary -- a virtual re-run of the Anderson success story. Like Anderson, so Connally too was a Texas Democrat nominated to

[1] These facts are confirmed in Crichton's biography in Who's Who in American Politics.

be a Republican Treasury Secretary after political connections with Lyndon Johnson, legal work for a Fort Worth oil estate in the 1950's, a brief stint as Secretary of the Navy, and above all a questionable pay-off of some $750,000 from the Richardson oil interests.

The two careers of the two men begin to run parallel from the mid-1940's, when both Anderson and Connally were intimately involved in Johnson's dubious radio operations in Austin. Originally Johnson's secretary in the House, Connally became an employee of station KTBC which Lady Bird Johnson purchased from Anderson; and in 1950 Connally became a law partner of Alvin Wirtz who had arranged the KTBC sale for Lyndon.[1] Lyndon's "landslide" Senate primary victory of 87 votes in 1948 was managed by Wirtz, Connally, and Raymond Buck, associate general counsel in Fort Worth for the aircraft manufacturing firm of Convair (later a division of General Dynamics) which was grateful to Johnson for his fight in Congress for a seventy-group air force.[2] The major financing for this campaign (including legal help to Wirtz and Connally in blocking the strong case for a recount) came from George and Herman Brown of Brown and Root, men rich from investing their profits on government construction contracts (many of them assisted by LBJ) in oil and natural gas. As early as 1948, in other words, a power cartel linking aerospace and petroleum was already Johnson's major formula for political success, as it continued to be thereafter.

[1] Steinberg, Sam Johnson's Boy, pp. 201, 203, 241.

[2] Steinberg, p. 243. Buck had also managed the Johnson Congressional campaign in 1941, the year Buck became associate general counsel for Convair. Later he became a director of Fred Korth's Continental National Bank of Fort Worth.

Through Johnson's patronage, Connally had met Sid Richardson at the 1940 Democratic national convention in Chicago. After Sid died in 1951, Richardson, "who had the reputation of 'taking care of' his top employees," hired him as vice-president and attorney for his family oil interests in Fort Worth. Thus, as Richardson's attorney, Connally is likely to have helped arrange the $990,000 pay-off to Anderson in 1957, as did Richardson's nephew Perry R. Bass in 1963. When Richardson died in 1959, Connally continued to represent the family interests, and arranged to collect a series of ten annual payments of $75,000 as delayed-payment fees for serving as executor of the estate.[1] Though the legal case that this constituted a conflict-of-interest during his tenure of the offices of Navy Secretary and Texas Governor is not as clear-cut as in the case of Robert Anderson, Connally's reported attempts to conceal these payments ("I have received no services nor received any compensation") suggest that his present vigorous defense of the oil depletion allowance is not being sustained with a completely clear conscience. The situation was well summed up in a memo of a secret Interior Department policy meeting under Johnson, which quoted Assistant Secretary John M. Kelly, a New Mexico oil man, as recommending Governor Connally for a government oil study group, Connally "being primarily from the oil industry".[2]

In thus focusing on the intertwined careers of Anderson and Connally, we wish only to illustrate how the same private interests are still represented in public power under either party, without

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[1] Post, Feb. 1, 1970, p. 1; Feb. 3, 1970, p. 1.

[2] Jack Anderson, Washington Merry-Go-Round, p. 208.

suggesting that these two men in particular (any more than Johnson and Nixon in particular) are solely responsible for the conspiratorial ills of the nation. Other members of this continuing common interest group could be cited, particularly those associated with Johnson's Senate Preparedness Subcommittee Staff in the late 1950's. Ken DeLieu, once a staff member of Johnson's Senate Preparedness Subcommittee under Ed Weisl (the so-called "19th partner" of Lehman Brothers, who engineered the support of the Hearst papers in Johnson's 1948 campaign) was Assistant Secretary of the Navy for Installations and Logistics under Connally: as such he was presumably responsible for the contracts installing ITT equipment aboard the Ren (leased to Collins Radio) and the Maddox.

Prime candidates for questioning about the Ren and Maddox would thus include not only DeLieu and Navy Secretaries Connally and Korth (both Johnson nominees), but also the pro-Johnson men on the "Special Group" or "303 Committee": Deputy Defense Secretaries Roswell Gilpatric (whose links to General Dynamics were revealed by the ITT investigation) and Cyrus Vance (Ed Weisl's law partner). DeLieu is still in the Washington hierarchy. When Johnson became President DeLieu developed his connections with the White House; and he officially joined the White House staff (as Deputy Assistant for Congressional Relations) under President Nixon.

Even the esoteric firm of Lynne, Jaffe and Tinsley, which represented or lobbied for the Dallas oil and aerospace interests (such as Hunt Oil and Ling-Temco-Vought) under Johnson, seems to have suffered no significant loss of influence under the Nixon

Administration. One of its partners, William H. Tinsley (since 1963 a director of L.T.V. and ~~of the L.T.V. directors of Braniff Airways~~), is a director or counsel for the business interests of Sam Wyly, Chairman of Nixon's Finance Committee in Texas during the 1968 campaign.[1] It is thus one of the many law firms in key financial-industrial cities which make a point of maintaining positions at the center of both political parties. Another relevant example would be the law firm of O'Melveny and Myers in Los Angeles, which through the years has represented both oil and aerospace interests, and which in 1970 played a central role in the California Senatorial campaigns of both the Republican candidate George Murphy (a "hawk") and the Democratic candidate (a "dove").

Sometimes the same individual manages simultaneously to be an elephant and a donkey. According to his biography in Who's Who in American Politics, the Fort Worth attorney Sproesser Wynn (a director of the Waggoner-linked First National Bank of Fort Worth which handled the Oswald financial affairs) was a member of the Texas Delegation to the 1968 Democratic national convention at the same time that he was Chairman of the Senate Club for Republican Senator Tower.

And it is no secret that officers of the huge companies in the background of the Dallas assassination (such as General Dynamics) insure their future contracts by contributing to both political party campaigns. Thus it should surprise no one that, after the Republicans had complained for years about the TFX award to General

[1] Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley is listed as counsel for Wyly's University Computing while Tinsley is a director with Wyly of Bonanza International Inc.

Dynamics, Richard Nixon appointed General Dynamics director David Packard to be Deputy Secretary of Defense (the post traditionally representing Defense on the key "Special Group" or "303 Committee" which authorized ELINT missions like the Pueblo's). As in the case of other large defense contractors we have mentioned in this chapter (i.e. Kerr-McGee Oil and Ling-Temco-Vought) the officials of General Dynamics contributed far more heavily to the 1968 elections to the Republicans than to the Democrats.[1]

Such facts about the financial infrastructure of American politics suggest that the syndrome described in this book will not be easily terminated ~~likely to be curtailed~~ by the substitution of Humphrey (the Johnson machine candidate) or of Muskie (a key man in blocking the 1963 TFX investigations) for Nixon. ~~If there is to be any Congressional resistance to this financial-intelligence complex, it is more likely to come from relatively isolated and secure residual islands of independence, such as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.~~

~~What are they going to do?~~

~~What are we going to~~ do?

[1] Congressional Quarterly (Sept. 18, 1970), p. 2292. Listed contributions from General Dynamics officials to Republican candidates were $17,235; to Democrats, $1,000. Among the ten leading contractors, only the officials of Litton Industries did not back both parties. Their $151,000 (of which $90,000 came from Henry Salvatori and his wife) went only to the Republicans.

RICHARD NIXON AND THE DALLAS REPUBLICANS

THESIS XI: THOUGH LYNDON JOHNSON, BARRY GOLDWATER, AND NELSON ROCKEFELLER CAN ALL BE LINKED TO THE MANIPULATION OF MARINA'S TESTIMONY AT THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP., THE POLITICIAN WITH THE MOST DIRECT CONNECTION IS RICHARD NIXON. MR. NIXON SHOULD DISCLOSE THE NATURE OF HIS BUSINESS IN DALLAS ON NOVEMBER 22, 1963, AND WHETHER (AS SEEMS PROBABLE) HE HAD DEALINGS WITH THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP. DIRECTORS, ITS LAWYERS, OR JACK CRICHTON.

CUI BONO? TO WHOSE PROFIT WAS THE DALLAS ASSASSINATION. THIS EASY QUESTION HAS USUALLY DRAWN THE EASY ANSWER: VICE-PRESIDENT JOHNSON FROM TEXAS, WHOSE PROTEGES FRED KORTH AND BOBBY BAKER HAD RECENTLY BEEN EXPOSED THROUGH CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRIES INTO TEXAS-BASED SCANDALS THAT THREATENED TO TERMINATE JOHNSON'S OWN CAREER. THE ASSASSINATION MOREOVER WAS SWIFTLY FOLLOWED BY A RENEWED PRESIDENTIAL COMMITMENT TO A FAILING PROGRAM OF OVERSEAS COMMITMENTS AND DEFENSE SPENDING IN WHICH THE PRESIDENT'S KEY BACKERS (LING, LOEB, WEISL), AND POSSIBLY THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF, HAD A MAJOR FINANCIAL STAKE.

BUT IF JOHNSON AND HIS BACKERS WERE BENEFICIARIES OF AN ASSASSINATION CONSPIRACY, THEY WERE ALSO IN A REAL SENSE ITS CAPTIVES. JOHNSON HAD RISEN TO PROMINENCE THROUGH HIS RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE MURCHISONS AND OTHER TEXAS MILLIONAIRES WHOSE FORTUNES (AS WE HAVE SEEN) SUBSIDIZED THE HIGH LIVING NOT ONLY OF BOBBY BAKER BUT ALSO OF J. EDGAR HOOVER. JUST AS THE FBI PROVED TO BE INCOMPETENT IN RECORDING (TO TAKE A MINOR BUT SYMPTOMATIC EXAMPLE) THE NAMES OF MEN LIKE LAMAR HUNT IN THE OVERLAPPING BACKGROUNDS OF JACK RUBY, J. EDGAR HOOVER, AND LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON, SO JOHNSON HIMSELF WAS IN NO POSITION TO EXPOSE THE FBI'S MALFEASANCE. THESE OBVIOUS LIMITS TO

by Mac Bundy, declined to overrule. Cooper concludes that "the sentence may have been worked out privately with Kennedy and therefore imbedded in concrete".[1] This leads credence to Ken O'Donnell's revelation in Life magazine that Kennedy, after a meeting with Senator Mansfield in the spring of 1963, told O'Donnell

> that he had made up his mind that after his re-election he would take the risk of unpopularity and make a complete withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam....in 1965.[2]

The October 2 White House Statement would thus be one step towards implementing this disengagement.

The public rhetoric about a 1,000-man withdrawal has been translated into more detailed planning. On October 31, 1963, only hours before the overthrow of Diem on November 1, Kennedy reiterated the McNamara announcement, and added

> I think the first unit or first contingent would be 250 men who are not involved in what might be called front-line operations.[3]

This statement described the 220 or so nontechnical personnel who were

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[1] Chester Cooper, The Last Crusade: America in Vietnam (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1970), p. 216. Cooper is commonly described as a CIA veteran (Richard Pfeffer, ed., No More Vietnams, p. 91); his book jacket notes that "he fought in the China Burma India Theater with the OSS in World War II and subsequently has been a specialist in that area of government". His book fails to mention the more critical, if more symbolic, question of the 1,000 troops to be withdrawn in 1963.

[2] Kenneth O'Donnell, "LBJ and the Kennedys," Life (Aug. 7, 1970), p. 52; NYT, Aug. 3, 1970, p. 18. Cf. Life, p. 52: "the President's order to reduce the American personnel in Vietnam by 1,000 men before the end of 1963 was still in effect on the day that he went to Texas." (It was not four days later.)

[3] Public Papers, p. 828. Cf. General Taylor, in NYT, Oct. 11, 1963, pp. 1, 6.

in fact withdrawn from Vietnam on December 3, 1963 -- the only such troops to be withdrawn at all.

The startling turnaround on the repatriation of the 1,000 troops can only be attributed to the change in the U.S. Presidency. The implementation of this withdrawal was discussed and agreed to at a high-level conference in Honolulu on Wednesday, November 20, at which Rusk, McNamara and McGeorge Bundy from Washington met with Admiral Felt, Ambassador Lodge and General Harkins. Apparently the mood of this meeting was relatively relaxed and optimistic:

> the principal U.S. authorities concerned with the war could still detect enough evidence of improvement

JOHNSON'S FREEDOM OF ACTION, INTENSIFIED BY THE DECISION TO KILL PRESIDENT KENNEDY IN TEXAS RATHER THAN ELSEWHERE, MADE IT UNNECESSARY TO ASSUME THAT JOHNSON WAS ACTIVELY DRAWN INTO THE DALLAS CONSPIRACY.

THE GREATEST THREAT OF EXPOSURE TO THE MALFEASANCE OF THE FBI AND THE WARREN COMMISSION DID NOT COME FROM THE NEW PRESIDENT WHO SET THE LATTER UP, NOR FROM THE SUPREME COURT WHOSE CHIEF JUSTICE (BY A DECISION WHOSE CONSTITUTIONAL PROPRIETY IS HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE) SAT AS CHAIRMAN OF AN EXECUTIVE AGENCY--WHAT WAS THEN OFFICIALLY KNOWN AS THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY.[1] INSOFAR AS THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM STILL HAD VITALITY, THE CHIEF THREAT CAME FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, OR MORE SPECIFICALLY FROM WHOSE WHO WOULD EMERGE AS THE CHIEF CANDIDATES FOR ITS 1964 PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION. GIVEN THE EVIDENCE WE HAVE SEEN HITHERTO OF A HIGH-LEVEL CONSPIRACY TO CONCEAL THE TRUTH ABOUT DEALEY PLAZA, IT SHOULD NOT SURPRISE US TO LEARN THAT THE APPARENT LINKS TO THIS NETWORK OF THESE CANDIDATES (BARRY GOLDWATER, NELSON ROCKEFELLER, RICHARD NIXON) ARE, AS MUCH OR EVEN MORE THAN LYNDON JOHNSON'S LINKS, DESERVING OF FURTHER INQUIRY.

THE LEAST INVOLVED OF THESE CANDIDATES APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN BARRY GOLDWATER, DESPITE HIS MUCH-PUBLICIZED ACQUAINTANCE

WITH JOHN ROSSELLI'S CO-DEFENDANT WILLIE BIOFF, AND HIS MUCH LONGER ACQUAINTANCE WITH GUS GREENBAUM (THE MURDERED MANAGER OF THE LAS FLAMINGO AND RIVIERA CASINOS FOR LANSKY AND THE CHICAGO SYNDICATE). THESE RELATIONSHIPS RECEIVED VERY BRIEF NATIONAL PROMINENCE IN THE WEEK PRECEDING THE ASSASSINATION (WITH THE PUBLICATION OF THE GREEN FELT JUNGLE), AND GOLDWATER'S EFFORTS TO MINIMIZE THEN ARE CONTRADICTED BY THOSE WHO HAVE INVESTIGATED ORGANIZED CRIME.[1] SUCH CONNECTIONS ARE NOT NECESSARILY CONSPIRATORIAL, ANY MORE THAN THE FORGOTTEN EPISODE OF GOLDWATER'S INTENDED TRIP TO GERMANY IN 1964, CALLED OFF AFTER IT WAS LEARNED BY A REPORTER AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION. OSTENSIBLY GOLDWATER WOULD HAVE VISITED HIS OLD FRIEND GENERAL WILLIAM QUINN, WHOSE TRANSFER OUT OF THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY TO THE U.S. SEVENTH ARMY WAS ANNOUNCED ON THE EVE OF THE ASSASSINATION.[2] THE SPECULATION WAS THAT THIS TRIP WOULD HAVE MASQUED CONTACTS BETWEEN GOLDWATER AND UNSPECIFIED RIGHT-WING GERMAN CONNECTIONS IN BAVARIA, WHERE THE PRO-ABN SOLDATENZEITUNG OF GERHARD FREY WAS (AS WAS TO BE EXPECTED) ENTHUSIASTICALLY PRO-GOLDWATER.

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[1] NYT, NOVEMBER 18, 1963, P. ; REID AND DEMARIS, THE GREEN FELT JUNGLE, PP. 39-44, 201-06. GOLDWATER WAS A FREQUENT PATRON OF LAS VEGAS CASINOS UNTIL GREENBAUM'S MURDER, AND HIS BROTHER ROBERT GOLDWATER WAS A GOLD CARD "HIGH ROLLER". GOLDWATER CLAIMED THAT "I MET HIMS /BIOFF/ THROUGH PEGGY'S UNCLE. HE SAID HE WANTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO MY CAMPAIGN, AND A FEW DAYS LATER HE GAVE ME A CHECK FOR $1,200." (EDWIN MCDOWELL, BARRY GOLDWATER: PORTRAIT OF AN ARIZONAN, CHICAGO: HENRY REGNERY, 1964, P. 114). BUT HANK MESSICK WRITES THAT IT WAS GREENBAUM WHO INTRODUCED BIOFF TO GOLDWATER (SECRET FILE, P. 133), AND REID AND DEMARIS (P. 205) ADD THAT THE CONTRIBUTION ($5,000, NOT $1,200) CAME IN RETURN FOR THE EFFORTS OF GOLDWATER AND TWO OF HIS POLITICAL FRIENDS IN PERSUADING "THE EDITOR OF A LOCAL NEWSPAPER NOT TO RUN AN EXPOSE STORY ON BIOFF."

[2] NYT, NOVEMBER 21, 1963, P. 1.

IT IS LESS CLEAR THAT GOLDWATER REALLY WANTED THE PRESIDENCY (AN ASSUMPTION QUESTIONED BY MANY WHO STUDIED OR PARTICIPATED IN HIS CAMPAIGN) THAN THAT HE USED THE CAMPAIGN TO INTENSIFY THE PRESSURE ON JOHNSON TO ACT MILITANTLY IN VIETNAM, AND PARTICULARLY TO END THE USE THERE OF "ANTIQUATED AIRCRAFT" (THE FOCUS OF A FULL-PAGE AD IN THE NEW YORK TIMES ARRANGED BY MARVIN LIEBMAN OF THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE STEERING COMMITTEE). AS SOON AS HE WAS NOMINATED, GOLDWATER DOWNGRADED OR DISMISSED THE CADRES OF THE ORIGINAL NATIONAL DRAFT GOLDWATER COMMITTEE WHOSE CHAIRMAN HAD BEEN DALLAS REPUBLICAN PETER O'DONNELL.[1] IN PARTICULAR GOLDWATER DECLINED TO CHOOSE O'DONNELL AS HIS PARTY CHAIRMAN, AND INSTEAD PICKED DEAN BURCH OF THE SO-CALLED "ARIZONA MAFIA" (POLITICIANS LIKE DEAN BURCH, RICHARD KLEINDIENST AND DENISON KITCHEL, ALL OF WHOM WERE LATE-COMERS TO THE GOLDWATER CAMPAIGN AND ARE IN 1972 STAUNCH SUPPORTERS OF RICHARD NIXON).

BY THIS CHOICE GOLDWATER DISTANCED HIMSELF FROM THE SUBJECTS OF THE WARREN COMMISSION INQUIRY. FOR PETER O'DONNELL (WHO HIMSELF GAVE TESTIMONY TO THE FBI IN REGARD TO OSWALD'S ALLEGED PLAN TO SHOOT RICHARD NIXON) WAS CHAIRMAN OF THE TEXAS REPUBLICAN PARTY; AS SUCH HE WORKED CLOSELY WITH JACK CRICHTON OF ARMY INTELLIGENCE RESERVE SERVICE AND EMPIRE TRUST, WHO BY NOW WAS OPPOSING CONNALLY FOR THE GOVERNORSHIP OF TEXAS

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[1] "THE FINANCE MEN, WHO HAD RAISED MORE THAN THREE AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS TO HELP GOLDWATER WIN THE NOMINATION, WERE EACH GIVEN A HANDSOME PRESENTATION WRIST WATCH AND DISMISSED. THE REGIONAL DIRECTORS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF JOHN GRENIER, DID NOT EVEN RATE THIS MUCH ATTENTION" (STEPHEN SHADEGG, WHAT HAPPENED TO GOLDWATER? NEW YORK: HOLT, RINEHART & WINSTON, 1965, P. 107).

as Goldwater was "opposing" Johnson. O'Donnell's family foundation ~~[illegible] Lime Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley, had an address in the building of Maurice Carlson's Reliance Life and Accident Insurance Company~~ had as outside director Leo Corrigan, whose family properties housed (along with George de Mohrenschildt, 19 H 18) one of Ruby's night clubs. Thus Ruby had visited Leo Corrigan's office the day before the assassination, allegedly to leave a cheque for his $500-a-month rent (CE 2399, 25 H 380).

At least as long as O'Donnell chaired his campaign, Goldwater was in no position to call for an inquiry into the actions of Crichton and his associates. But Goldwater was only marginally involved; Nelson Rockefeller, his leading contender for the nomination, was involved directly and financially. The Rockefeller brothers (through Rockefeller Center, Inc.) had participated with Loeb Rhoades in the incorporation of the Great Southwest Corp.; and by late 1963, when Marina Oswald was spirited by elaborate contrivance into the custody of Great Southwest's motel and its manager James Herbert Martin, "control of Great Southwest was tightly centered in the Rockefeller and Wynne families."

This last information is contained in a letter from David Bevan, Penn Central's finance chairman at the time of its bankruptcy.[1] Bevan was attempting to vindicate his conduct in advising the Penn Central to commit the railroad's scarce capital

[1] The letter is cited in Joseph R. Daughen and Peter H. Binzen, The Wreck of the Penn Central (Boston: Little Brown, 1971), p. 155.

resources to the purchase of the Great Southwest Corp., including stock previously purchased by Bevan and his friend Charles Hodge through a private investment club, Penphil. Wright Patman, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking which investigated the bankruptcy, has pointed to the manipulations by Bevan, Hodge, and Penphil as a "monumental disservice" which helped trigger the bankruptcy.

Today, as I write this last chapter, the morning paper announces that Bevan and Hodge have been formally charged with conspiracy to "manipulate over $85 million in Penn Central investments to benefit a private investment group" -- i.e., Penphil. By a strange coincidence the warrants for their arrest were issued by Arlen Specter, Philadelphia District Attorney and a former assistant counsel of the Warren Commission.[1]

This alleged conspiracy appears to be intimately interwoven with the conspiracy at the Inn of the Six Flags. Charles Hodge, (a partner of Glore Forgan, Wm. R. Staats Inc. and founding partner of Penphil in September 1962) was a director of Great Southwest at the time, apparently as a Rockefeller nominee. (Another such nominee was F. M. Mayer the business associate of Henry Crown.) On September 21, 1962, two weeks after its founding, Hodge brought into Penphil Angus G. Wynne, Jr.; at that time Angus Wynne, Bedford Wynne's brother, was President of the Great Southwest Corp. and also a member of what was still the law firm of Wynne, McKenzie, Stroud, Jaffe and Tinsley. On July 18, 1963, Penphil bought 10,000 shares of

[1] San Francisco Chronicle, January 5, 1972, p. 53. In 1972 Specter became Nixon's campaign chairman for the date of Pennsylvania

GREAT SOUTHWEST FOR $165,000, AND ON THE SAME DAY THE RAILROAD BOUGHT 4,000 SHARES FOR $66,000.

> FROM DECEMBER 12, 1963, TO JUNE 26, 1964, THE RAILROAD BOUGHT AN ADDITIONAL 7,300 SHARES FOR $144,337.50. ALMOST ONE YEAR TO THE DAY THAT PENPHIL BOUGHT INTO GREAT SOUTHWEST, THE PENN CENTRAL ACQUIRED CONTROL OF THE REAL ESTATE COMPANY. IN TWO DAYS OF MASSIVE BUYING, ON JULY 15 AND 16, 1964, THE RAILROAD PURCHASED 520,367 SHARES OF GREAT SOUTHWEST AT A COST OF $11,633,257.50, OR $22.41 A SHARE.[1]

IN DECEMBER 1965 PENPHIL WAS ABLE TO REALIZE A PROFIT OF $212,500 ON ITS ORIGINAL INVESTMENT OF $165,000, WHEN ITS SHARES WERE PURCHASED (THROUGH GLORE FORGAN) BY THE PENN CENTRAL. THIS HANDSOME PROFIT (AND OTHERS LIKE IT) HAS LED ULTIMATELY TO THE CONSPIRACY CHARGES AGAINST BEVAN AND HODGE. BUT BEVAN AND HODGE APPEAR AS SMALL-TIME PROFITEERS WHEN THEIR TRANSACTIONS ARE COMPARED TO THE COMMITMENT OF PENN CENTRAL RESOURCES TO THE PURCHASE OF THE ROCKEFELLER INTERESTS. ROCKEFELLER CENTER, INC., HELD 170,851 SHARES OF GREAT SOUTHWEST. ~~IT AS REPORTED THESE WERE PURCHASED~~ AT THE PRICE OF $22.41 PER SHARE REPORTEDLY PAID BY PENNSYLVANIA COMPANY IN ~~DECEMBER~~ OR JULY 1964, THIS REPRESENTED ~~AN INVESTMENT INTO THE ROCKEFELLERS~~ AN INVESTMENT IN THE ORDER OF $4 MILLION. THE TIMING OF THESE PURCHASES FROM DECEMBER THROUGH JULY, WHICH COINCIDE ROUGHLY WITH THE PERIOD OF NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S CANDIDACY AND THE WARREN COMMISSION INVESTIGATION, SUGGEST THAT NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S FINANCIAL INTEREST IN THEM SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED MORE CAREFULLY. BUT THIS INQUIRY LEADS US IN TURN TO THE CONDUCT IN THIS PERIOD OF THE LEADING REPUBLICAN NON-CANDIDATE, RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON.

[1] DAUPHEN AND BINZEN, P. 154.

NIXON.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO RAISE, WITHOUT SOUNDING CHEAP, THE QUESTION OF HOW IT TRANSPIRED THAT RICHARD NIXON "HAD LAW BUSINESS IN DALLAS ON NOVEMBER 22, 1963."[1] YET THE QUESTION IS NOT A FAR-FETCHED OR IRRELEVANT ONE, SINCE NIXON (WHO HAD ~~JOINED~~ published to THE NEW YORK BAR EXACTLY ONE WEEK EARLIER) WAS IN DALLAS ON PEPSI-COLA BUSINESS, WHICH VERY LIKELY HAD TO DO WITH THE FIRM'S 1964 DECISION TO ~~BUILD~~ purchase land for a NEW PLANT IN ARLINGTON, ~~TEXAS~~ from The Great Southwest Corp. IF SO IT SEEMS ~~HIGHLY PROBABLE~~ almost certain THAT NIXON'S BUSINESS WAS WITH THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP., AND MORE SPECIFICALLY WITH THE LAW FIRM OF WYNNE, JAFFE, AND TINSLEY WHICH REPRESENTED BOTH GREAT SOUTHWEST AND L-T-V. IT IS THUS NECESSARY TO ASK WHETHER politically influential THE MILLIONS OF DOLLARS INVOLVED AT THIS TIME IN GREAT SOUTHWEST'S CHANGING FUTURE DID NOT INFLUENCE, PERHAPS EVEN PAY FOR, MARINA'S STRANGE RELATIONSHIP TO JAMES MARTIN AND WILLIAM MCKENZIE.

ALONG WITH WILLIAM ZECKENDORF ONE OF GREAT SOUTHWEST'S EARLIER DIRECTORS HAD BEEN HIS ASSOCIATE ARTHUR RUBLOFF; AND RUBLOFF WAS FREQUENTLY ASSOCIATED IN AT LEAST THREE OF CHARLES ALLEN'S REAL ESTATE DEVELOPMENT SPECULATIONS, INCLUDING THE GRAND BAHAMA PORT AUTHORITY WITH EX-CONVICT WALLACE GROVES WHICH OPENED THE WAY TO CHESLER'S AND LANSKY'S CASINO OPERATIONS IN THE BAHAMAS.

RUBLOFF WAS REPRESENTING THE INVESTMENT IN GREAT SOUTHWEST OF THE DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION OF AMERICA, AN EQUITY CORP. SUBSIDIARY WITH POWERFUL POLITICAL CONNECTIONS, PARTICULARLY WITH

[1] EARL MAZO AND STEPHEN HESS, NIXON: A POLITICAL PORTRAIT (NEW YORK: POPULAR LIBRARY, 1968), P. 290.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY. THE CHAIRMAN OF DCA WAS H. STRUVE HENSEL, A FORMER REPUBLICAN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WHO WAS ASSOCIATED (THROUGH CRESCENT PETROLEUM) WITH THE CUBAN OIL VENTURE OF NIXON'S "CHIEF FUND-RAISER" J. CLIFFORD FOLGER. OTHER DIRECTORS INCLUDED PATRICK HOY, THE INTIMATE OF HENRY CROWN AND OF MEYER LANSKY'S MANAGER (CHARLES BARON) AT THE HAVANA RIVIERA; AND DAVID MILTON, THE FORMER HUSBAND OF NELSON ROCKEFELLER'S SISTER ABBY WHO IN 1966 WAS CHARGED BY THE SEC WITH "GROSS MISCONDUCT" IN HIS HANDLING OF EQUITY CORP. AFFAIRS.[1]

RUBLOFF WAS ALSO A DIRECTOR WITH ZECKENDORF AND CHARLES ALLEN OF ROOSEVELT FIELD IN LONG ISLAND, A SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF AN AIRFIELD WHICH APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A MODEL FOR WHAT WAS EXPECTED OF THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORPORATION. ROOSEVELT FIELD HAD REWARDED ITS INVESTORS PROMPTLY, BECAUSE OF THE EARLY DECISION OF COMPANIES (INCLUDING THOSE IN WHICH CHARLES ALLEN HAD AN INTEREST) TO RELOCATE THEIR FACILITIES AT THE NEW INDUSTRIAL PARK. ONE OF THESE COMPANIES IN 1957 HAD BEEN AMERICAN BOSCH ARMA, WHOSE DIRECTORS INCLUDED NOT ONLY CHARLES ALLEN BUT WILLIAM SIXX WASSERMAN, A FORMER STEPFATHER-IN-LAW OF GEORGE DE MOHRENSCHILDT.[2] ANOTHER WAS THE PEPSI-COLA COMPANY OF LONG ISLAND, ONE OF WHOSE DISTRIBUTORS SPENT "20 OR 30 MINUTES" WITH JACK RUBY ON THE EVE OF THE ASSASSINATION (R 334; 15 H 626-30). CHARLES ALLEN WAS ALSO A DIRECTOR OF THE DIFFERENT COMPANY PEPSI-COLA.

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[1] NYT, SEPTEMBER 23, 1966, P. 29.

[2] ONCE AGAIN THE POLITICALLY SENSITIVE WARREN HEARINGS TRANSCRIPT AND INDEX OBSCURE THIS FACT, LISTING WASSERMAN'S NAME ONCE AS "BILL WASSERMAN" (9 H 194) AND ONCE AS "WALTER WASHINGTON" (9 H 192).

IN THIS CHAPTER I HAVE NO INTENTION OF SUGGESTING THAT NIXON'S LEGAL BUSINESS FOR PEPSI IN DALLAS BROUGHT HIM INTO CONTACTS WITH RUBY OR HIS CIRCLE. BUT EDWARD MEYERS, A LONG ISLAND PEPSI DISTRIBUTOR FROM BROOKLYN, SPENT "20 OR 30 MINUTES" WITH JACK RUBY ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 21 (R334, 15 H 626-30). THIS MEETING WAS ARRANGED BY EDWARD'S BROTHER LAWRENCE MEYERS, A CHICAGO BUSINESSMAN WHO HAD KNOWN RUBY FOR SOME SIX YEARS. LAWRENCE MEYERS HAD ALREADY SPENT AN HOUR WITH RUBY ON THE SAME THURSDAY EVENING, AND LATER RECEIVED A "15 OR 20 MINUTES" PHONE CALL FROM RUBY ON SATURDAY. THOUGH LAWRENCE MEYERS IS HIMSELF AN INTERESTING FIGURE (HIS SON RALPH "HAD A CRYPTO CLEARANCE" IN THE ARMY SECURITY AGENCY, 15 H 638), ONE WISHES THAT THE COMMISSION HAD ALSO RECEIVED TESTIMONY FROM HIS BROTHER, WHOSE RESERVATION IN DALLAS WAS "MADE FOR HIM BY THE PEPSI COLA COMPANY" (CE 2268, 25 H 193). ONE GROUND FOR FURTHER INTERROGATION IS THE DIFFICULTY OF RECONCILING EDWARD'S ESTIMATE OF THE RUBY VISIT ("ABOUT FIVE MINUTES", 25 H 193) WITH THAT OF LAWRENCE UNDER OATH ("20 OR 30 MINUTES" 15 H 630).[1] EDWARD MEYERS CAME TO DALLAS AFTER TEN DAYS VACATION IN MEXICO CITY, A CITY WHICH HAD ALREADY LOOMED RATHER LARGE IN THE INVESTIGATION OF OSWALD. AND THIS MEETING WITH THE MEYERS BROTHERS AT THE DALLAS CABANA WAS RUBY'S LAST KNOWN PRIVATE ENGAGEMENT BEFORE HIS 3:00 A.M. BREAKFAST WITH THE MYSTERIOUS LARRY CRAFARD, WHOM A WITNESS, NEVER INTERVIEWED, LATER MISTOOK FOR OSWALD (R334).

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[1] LAWRENCE MEYERS EARLIER TOLD THE FBI THAT RUBY REMAINED "ONLY A FEW MINUTES", 25 H 191.

IT IS UNCLEAR WHETHER THE RUBY-MEYERS CONTACT WAS IMPORTANT IN ITSELF, OR AS AN EXCUSE FOR RUBY'S PRESENCE IN THE DALLAS [illegible] CABANA HOTEL. FOR THE DALLAS CABANA IS A PROJECT BUILT BY JAY SARNOW AND STANLEY MALIN WITH A QUESTIONABLE TEAMSTERS CSPF FUND LOAN, SUPPLIED THROUGH THE PERSONAL INTERVENTION OF RUBY'S TEAMSTER CONTACT DUSTY MILLER.[1]

THERE ARE INDICATIONS, QUITE UNRELATED TO THE STORY WE HAVE TOLD HERE ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION, THAT NIXON'S LEGAL BUSINESS FOR PEPSI-COLA IN DALLAS ON NOVEMBER 22 WAS IMPORTANT -- IMPORTANT FOR THE FUTURE OF PEPSI-COLA (NOW PEPSICO) AND ALSO FOR THE FUTURE OF NIXON HIMSELF. THE FORTUNES OF THE SOFT-DRINK COMPANY AND OF THE FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT WERE CLOSELY INTER-RELATED. AFTER HIS DISASTROUS DEFEAT IN THE 1962 ELECTION FOR THE CALIFORNIA GOVERNORSHIP, NIXON'S POLITICAL COMEBACK IN THE EAST OWED MUCH TO PEPSI-COLA'S INTIMATIONS THAT, IF THE NEW YORK LEGAL FIRM OF MUDGE, STERN TOOK ON NIXON AS A SENIOR PARTNER, PEPSI WOULD PASS THEM THEIR ACCOUNT.[2]

THIS POLITICAL FAVOR BY DONALD KENDALL, WHO BECAME PRESIDENT OF PEPSI IN SEPTEMBER 1963, HAS BEEN VIEWED AS A QUID PRO QUO: KENDALL IS SAID TO OWE HIS PRESIDENCY OF PEPSICO IN PART TO HIS SUCCESS (THROUGH THE GOOD OFFICES OF RICHARD NIXON) IN HAVING KHRUSHCHEV POSE WITH A PEPSI BOTTLE AT THE 1959 AMERICAN EXHIBITION IN MOSCOW. BUT KENDALL'S SUCCESS CAN ALSO

[1] JAMES AND JAMES, P. 253. FOR RUBY'S PHONE CALLS TO DUSTY MILLER (WHOM THE WARREN HEARINGS CALL "DEUTSCH L. MAYLOR") SEE 5 H 200; CE 2303, 22 H 844. Sarnow and Malin (alias Sarno and Mallin) used [illegible] to be major part holders in the Teamster-financed Las Vegas casino, Caesar's Palace.

[2] HAZO AND HESS, NIXON, P. 285.

BE ATTRIBUTED TO HIS MARRIAGE WITH THE DAUGHTER OF ADMIRAL EDWARD ORRICK MCDONNELL, THE VETERAN OF WILSON'S VERA CRUZ EXPEDITION AND A FORMER DIRECTOR OF PEPSI, OF PAN AM, AND (WITH HENRY CROWN AND FRANK MANHEIM OF LEHMAN BROTHERS) OF THE HERTZ CORP.

DONALD KENDALL WAS NO STRANGER TO THE WELL-PLACED INVESTMENT CIRCLES OF LOEB RHOADES, EMPIRE TRUST, AND GENERAL DYNAMICS. IN 1959 HE HAD PARTICIPATED IN A LOEB RHOADES SYNDICATE THAT BOUGHT HEAVILY INTO ALASKAN AIRLINES, INC., ALONG WITH THE BROTHER OF A LEADING INVESTOR IN AIR AMERICA (JOSEPH WALKER); A LATER CO-DIRECTOR FROM THIS SYNDICATE WAS MOORHEAD KENNEDY, A VICE-PRESIDENT OF EMPIRE TRUST ALONG WITH ILYA MAHANTOV'S FRIEND JOHN CRICHTON.[1] A FOURTH MEMBER OF THIS LOEB RHOADES SYNDICATE WAS THE FRENCH MERCHANT BANKER FRANCOIS DE GUNZBURG OF THE BANQUE SELIGMAN LOUIS HIRSCH, WHOSE PREVIOUS VISIT TO AMERICA HAD BEEN FOUR YEARS IN DALLAS FROM 1948-52, WITH TODDIE LEE WYNNE'S AMERICAN LIBERTY OIL COMPANY. (AMERICAN LIBERTY, WHOSE DIRECTORS REAPPEAR IN THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP., WAS LATER SOLD TO A SUBSIDIARY OF THE BELGIAN COMPANY PETROFINA, AFFILIATED WITH THE BANQUE LAMBERT). IT WAS THIS SAME TODDIE LEE WYNNE (A COUSIN OF BEDFORD WYNNE AND LATER A DIRECTOR OF THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP.) WHO HELPED ARRANGE A MILLION-DOLLAR PAY-OFF FROM RICHARDSON (THROUGH DALADA CORP., ANOTHER HURCHISON FIRM) TO ROBERT BERNARD ANDERSON, ALLEGEDLY FOR HIS PART IN ARRANGING THE OIL IMPORT LICENSE PROGRAM.[2] WE HAVE SEEN THAT BY 1963 ROBERT ANDERSON, AFTER HIS USEFUL YEARS IN GOVERNMENT OFFICE, WAS ALSO A LOEB

[1] WALL STREET JOURNAL, AUGUST 12, 1959, P. 24.

[2] SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, JULY 16, 1970, PP. 1, 6; ROBERT SHERRILL, THE ACCIDENTAL PRESIDENT, P. 230.

Rhoades partner. In February 1964 Anderson's World Banking Corp. in the Bahamas brought in the Belgian Banque Lambert, along with Agustin Batista of the Loeb-linked former Cuba Trust Company in Havana.[1]

Nixon's legal activities included an extended trip to Europe in October 1963, presumably to Kendall's business contacts there. As Pepsi's lawyer, Nixon also twice visited Asia in 1964, where he spoke to South Vietnamese politicians and Chiang Kai-shek; on his return in April 1964 he lobbied vociferously for carrying the Vietnamese war to North Vietnam.[2] His second trip to Taiwan on Pepsi business enabled him to address the NTS, the ABN and an assortment of German right-wingers and ex-Nazis at the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League--the colleagues of Oswald's contact Spas T. Raikin.

But it was only on November 15, 1963, one week before the assassination, that Nixon petitioned to join the New York Bar.[3] He then flew down on the night of November 20 with Donald Kendall in the Pepsi plane to a bottlers' convention in Dallas, where he predicted that Kennedy might dump Johnson as his Vice-Presidential candidate.[4] Ten months later it was announced that Pepsi would build a multi-million dollar plant at Arlington, Texas,

[1] NYT, February 9, 1964, 111, 6.

[2] NYT, April 17, 1964, p. 1; April 19, 1964, p. 82; The War Conspiracy, p. 000.

[3] Time (Nov. 22, 1963) p. 17.

[4] Manchester, The Death of a President, pp. 101, 128; CE 1975, 23 H 941-43.

a deal negotiated with and pro- the Great Southwest Corporation.[1]

More recently Robert H. Stewart III, a director of the Great Southwest Corp., as well as of two firms close to Lyndon Johnson (Braniff Airways and Lone Star Steel) has also sat as a director of Pepsico. Robert H. Stewart was in 1963 President of the First National Bank in Dallas, whose directors included John Murchison, Leo Corrigan, Toddie Lee Wynne of Great Southwest, Herman Lay of Frito-Lay, and whose Senior Vice-President George Nicoud (a former Murchison employee) was now a director of Troy Post's Great America Corporation.

This $453,024 purchase by Pepsi of Great Southwest Corp land in Arlington would appear once again to illustrate the fruitful collaboration of Charles Allen (a Pepsi-Cola director) and Clint Murchison's circle, perhaps through their mutual associate Ezra Zilkha of the Great Southwest Corp. (who was associated in Hudson Leasing with both Charles Allen and Charles Hodge of Penphil). If (as we have seen) Nixon as Pepsi's lawyer had a hand in arranging it, then he presumably dealt with Great Southwest's lawyers, the firm of Wynne, Jaffe and Tinsley whose links with George de Mohrenschildt (through Morris Jaffe) Robert Oswald (through William A. McKenzie) Marina Oswald (through James H. Martin) and the Bobby Baker pay-offs (through Bedford Wynne) have already been examined.

Pepsi's decision to build at Arlington, Texas, cannot have been unrelated to its intended merger with the Dallas Frito-Lay company, a company interlocking with (and housed in) the Exchange Bank and Trust Company which soon interlocked in turn with Ling's

[1] Wall Street Journal, Oct. 8, 1964, p. 16.

ELECTRO-SCIENCE INVESTORS.[1] Frito-Lay's increasing ~~[illegible]~~ domination of the potato chip industry ~~[illegible]~~ HAD BEEN OBJECTED TO BY THE FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION IN A COMPLAINT DATED NOVEMBER 19, 1963, THE DAY BEFORE NIXON FLEW DOWN TO DALLAS ON LEGAL BUSINESS FOR PEPSI.[2] MR. NIXON SHOULD BE ASKED WHETHER HIS LEGAL EFFORTS HELPED TO BLOCK THIS COMPLAINT; AND, IF SO, WITH WHOM AND HOW HE HANDLED IT IN DALLAS. FOR IT WAS THIS MERGER THAT BROUGHT TO THE PEPSICO BOARD ROBERT H. STEWART III OF THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP., CHAIRMAN OF THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF DALLAS AND FOR FIFTEEN YEARS AN ACQUAINTANCE AND BACKER OF JAMES LING (WHO BOUGHT HEAVILY INTO LTV AND Electro-Science Investors IN OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER 1963). Robert Stewart his bank were named in the Bobby Baker Hearings for the $250,000 loan Stewart had advanced to Baker in 1961 and his friends for an insurance stock purchase which looked to many like a political record[2]

STEWART, LIKE HIS "VERY GOOD FRIEND" SENATOR JOHN TOWER, AND TOWER'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER PETER O'DONNELL, WAS POWERFUL AMONG THE CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICANS OF TEXAS; IN OCTOBER 1969 HE WAS CHAIRMAN OF A FUND-RAISING DINNER IN DALLAS FOR SPIRO AGNEW. IN STEWART'S OWN WORDS, "I'VE ALWAYS BEEN ON THE CONSERVATIVE SIDE OF POLITICS. SOME PEOPLE REFER TO ME AS BEING A LITTLE TO THE RIGHT OF LOUIS XIV."[3] IN 1970 HE BECAME ONE OF THREE NEW DIRECTORS TRYING TO REPAIR THE SAGGING FORTUNES OF L-T-V, ALONG WITH LING'S OLD BACKER TROY POST OF GREATAMERICA, AND WILLIAM H. TINSLEY WHO BY NOW WAS THE SENIOR PARTNER OF WYNNE, JAFFE AND TINSLEY.

IT MIGHT SEEM FAR-FETCHED TO RAISE THESE QUESTIONS ABOUT MR. NIXON'S LEGAL DEALINGS IN DALLAS, IF IT WERE NOT FOR THE TIMING OF HIS CURIOUS (AND APPARENTLY FALSE) TESTIMONY ON FEBRUARY 28, 1964 IN CONNECTION WITH OSWALD'S ALLEGED INTENTION TO ASSASSINATE HIM:

> MR. NIXON ADVISED THAT THE ONLY TIME HE WAS IN DALLAS, TEXAS DURING 1963 WAS TWO DAYS PRIOR TO THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY. HE VAGUELY THOUGHT THERE WAS SOME INVITATION EXTENDED DURING THE FIRST PART OF 1963, PROBABLY IN APRIL, BUT THAT IT NEVER MATERIALIZED, NOR DID HE GIVE ANY CONSIDERATION TO GOING THERE, (CE 1973, 23 H 831, EMPHASIS ADDED).

OF COURSE MR. NIXON WAS IN DALLAS ON THE DAY OF THE ASSASSINATION AFTER HAVING FLOWN THERE ON THE NIGHT OF NOVEMBER 20 (OR ALTERNATIVELY, ACCORDING TO A DIFFERENT REPORT, ON NOVEMBER 21).[1] EITHER MR. NIXON OR HIS INTERROGATOR, HIS OLD FRIEND JOHN F. MALO OF THE NEW YORK FBI, MISREPORTED WHAT WOULD SEEM TO BE A RATHER MEMORABLE FACT.

MUCH MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IS THE FALSE STORY OF THE APRIL INVITATION, AND ITS TIMING. WE HAVE SEEN THAT THE STORY "that NIXON was invited to Dallas in April 1963 to the South and East Dallas Chamber of Commerce" WAS PUT FORWARD AND THEN RETRACTED IN LATE FEBRUARY BY PRESIDENT MAURICE CARLSON OF RELIANCE LIFE AND ACCIDENT INSURANCE (23 H 414-416), The CHAIRMAN of Reliance Life WAS JAMES H. BOND OF ELECTRO-SCIENCE INVESTORS (LATER OF L-T-V), AND its SECRETARY was HENRY BAER (FORMERLY OF THE WYNNE LAW FIRM, COUNSELS FOR L-T-V AND GREAT SOUTHWEST), who ~~[illegible]~~

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[1] PEPSICO OVERSEAS CO., 1966 PROSPECTUS.
[2] BAKER HEARINGS (FINANCIAL INTERESTS, p. 984). Others who benefited from the loan were two Hurchison employees, Robert Thompson and Thomas Webb, who as we have seen were involved in the Bobby Baker [illegible]
[3] NYT, MAY 24, 1970, III, 3.

[1] DALLAS TIMES-HERALD, NOVEMBER 21, 1963 ("THE FORMER VICE-PRESIDENT ARRIVED IN DALLAS WEDNESDAY NIGHT"); DALLAS MORNING NEWS, NOVEMBER 22, 1963, IV, 1 ("THURSDAY"); BOTH ARTICLES REPRINTED AS CE 1975, 23 H 941-43.
Likewise William McKenzie, the lawyer who first gave the Nixon story to the FBI on February 17 (I H 236) told the Commission, "I don't know exactly when it was, but I know it was prior to November 22d; Dick Nixon was in Dallas" (I H 233).

[redacted]. MAURICE CARLSON, DESCRIBED BY THE FBI AS "A CLOSE FRIEND OF RICHARD "IXON" (23 H 414), WAS JOINED IN THE DENIAL OF HIS OWN STORY BY ANOTHER LOCAL REPUBLICAN--PETER O'DONNELL, THE CHAIRMAN OF THE NATIONAL DRAFT GOLDWATER COMMITTEE (CE 2522, 25 H 731). (INCIDENTALLY MR. O'DONNELL'S FBI INTERVIEW, LIKE MR. NIXON'S, IS SLIGHTLY WRONG ABOUT NIXON'S DALLAS VISIT: "NIXON WAS IN TEXAS ONLY ONCE IN 1963, THAT BEING NOVEMBER 21, 1963").* IT IS LUCKY FOR MR. NIXON THAT HIS CORROBORATION OF MAURICE CARLSON'S STORY (APART FROM THE SPECIFIC MONTH APRIL) WAS SO VAGUE; FOR MR. CARLSON'S CATEGORICAL STATEMENTS OF FEBRUARY 19 HAD ALREADY BEEN CATEGORICALLY WITHDRAWN BY HIM ON FEBRUARY 25 ("SINCE REFRESHING HIS MEMORY, HE REMEMBERED IT WAS SENATOR BARRY GOLDWATER OF ARIZONA AND NOT NIXON," CE 1795, 23 H 416). PERHAPS MR. CARLSON'S TWO STATEMENTS WERE MADE IN GOOD FAITH, BUT THERE IS ONE CIRCUMSTANTIAL REASON FOR THINKING OTHERWISE. ON FEBRUARY 24, THE DAY BEFORE CARLSON'S RETRACTION, HENRY BAER, THE SECRETARY OF HIS INSURANCE COMPANY RELIANCE LIFE, WAS HOLED UP AT THE DECLAN FORD HOME WITH MARINA OSWALD, HER ATTORNEY WILLIAM A. MCKENZIE, AND TWO FBI AGENTS (CE 1632, 23 H 511). MR. BAER WAS THE LAW PARTNER OF MARINA'S ATTORNEY, WILLIAM A. MCKENZIE, AND LIKE HIM HAD SEPARATED RECENTLY FROM THE MUDGE LAW FIRM, WYNNE, MCKENZIE, STROUD, JAFFE AND TINSLEY: BEDFORD WYNNE, THE FIRM'S SENIOR PARTNER WHO TOOK PART IN A BOBBY BAKER KICKBACK, WAS NOT ONLY A LAWYER FOR GREAT SOUTHWEST (WHOSE EMPLOYEE BECAME MARINA'S AGENT) BUT ALSO A DIRECTOR OF RELIANCE LIFE.

AS WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN, THE SHORT-LIVED STORY OF NIXON'S

*The date of November 21, 1963, was also given to the FBI by Maurice Carlson, 23 H 414.

APRIL INVITATION) WOULD HAVE CORROBORATED MARINA'S INCREDIBLE STORY, WHICH EVEN THE WARREN COMMISSION CONCLUDED "WAS OF NO PROBATIVE VALUE" (R 139), THAT OSWALD KNEW NIXON WAS COMING TO DALLAS AND HAD TO BE RESTRAINED FROM GOING OUT TO SHOOT HIM. ON FEBRUARY 19, THE SAME DAY MAURICE CARLSON REPORTED "THAT NIXON WAS INVITED TO DALLAS IN APRIL 1963" (23 H 414), ROBERT OSWALD REPORTED THAT "MARINA HAD LOCKED LEE HARVEY OSWALD IN THE BATHROOM THE ENTIRE DAY" (22 H 596). ON FEBRUARY 24, AFTER IT WAS ESTABLISHED THAT THE OSWALD BATHROOM LOCKED FROM THE INSIDE RATHER THAN THE OUTSIDE, MARINA ONLY MADE MATTERS WORSE: SHE HAD HELD OSWALD INSIDE FOR "THREE HOURS" BY "HOLDING ON TO THE KNOB AND BRACING HER FEET AGAINST THE WALL" (23 H 511).[12] (HER ULTIMATE STORY, UNDER OATH, WAS THAT SHE AND OSWALD STRUGGLED INSIDE THE BATHROOM, R 183).

FEBRUARY 1964 WAS A TIME OF MOMENTOUS TENSION WITHIN THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION, AND ALSO IN THE WARREN COMMISSION INVESTIGATION. ON FEBRUARY 18, 1964, THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF HAD SET OFF A GREAT VIETNAM DEBATE INSIDE THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL BUREAUCRACY, BY THEIR MEMORANDUM CALLING FOR "INTENSIFIED OPERATIONS AGAINST NORTH VIETNAM."[1] (MR. NIXON WOULD BECOME PERHAPS THE MOST VOCAL LOBBYIST FOR THIS POSITION, FOLLOWING HIS VISIT TO ASIA FOR PEPSI-COLA IN MARCH AND APRIL 1964). FEBRUARY WAS ALSO THE MONTH OF THE NAVY PRIME CONTRACT TO L-T-V (WHICH THE *NEW YORK TIMES* REPORTED "COULD RUN INTO MORE THAN A BILLION DOLLARS") FOR A LIMITED-WAR FIGHTER TO BE USED IN CONFLICTS

[1] *WASHINGTON POST*, JULY 1, 1970, A1, A16.

LIKE VIETNAM.[1] IT WAS THIS CONTRACT WHICH FIRST ENABLED JAMES LING (ALONG WITH JAMES H. BOND) TO REAP SUCH A SWIFT AND ASTRONOMICAL REWARD ON HIS PRESCIENT PRE-ASSASSINATION INVESTMENTS, IN PART THROUGH ELECTRO-SCIENCE INVESTORS. BUT THIS BRILLIANT SUCCESS SEEMED TO BE THREATENED ON FEBRUARY 24, 1964, WHEN THE SECURITY AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION FILED CHARGES AGAINST LING FOR HIS MISCONDUCT AS AN OFFICER OF ELECTRO-SCIENCE INVESTORS, AND PROPOSED THAT HE BE BARRED FROM SERVING AS AN OFFICER OF ANY INVESTMENT FIRM. THE SEC CHARGED ~~IN EFFECT~~ very plausibly THAT LING HAD CONSPIRED TO DEFRAUD ELECTRO-SCIENCE INVESTORS FOR HIS PERSONAL PROFIT, AND ALSO THAT OF L-T-V.[2]

IF JAMES LING WAS IN TROUBLE ON FEBRUARY 24, 1964, SO WAS THE CASE AGAINST LEE HARVEY OSWALD AS A "LONE ASSASSIN". FEBRUARY 24, 1964, WAS THE DATE OF THE WARREN COMMISSION'S MEMORANDUM TO THE CIA (WHICH WENT UNANSWERED FOR AT LEAST THREE AND APPARENTLY SEVEN MONTHS) WHICH RAISED IMPORTANT QUESTIONS ABOUT RUBY'S LINKS TO LEWIS J. McWILLIE, BARNEY BAKER ("REPORTED MUSCLE MAN FOR JIMMY HOFFA"), THOMAS HILL OF THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY HEAD OFFICE ("NAME FOUND IN RUBY'S NOTEBOOK") AND "LEOPOLD RAMOS DUCOS," THE TAKE-OVER MAN FOR BOBBY BAKER'S "LABOR CONSULTANT", MIKE SINGER OF THE TEAMSTERS (CE 2980, 26 H 467-D). FEBRUARY 24, 1964, WAS ALSO THE DATE THAT MARINA OSWALD, IN THE COMPANY OF FRANCIS BAER HER NEW LAWYER (FORMERLY OF WYNNE, JAFFE AND TINSLEY) FAILED TO MAKE CREDIBLE her story that in April 1963 Oswald had wanted ~~HER EARLIER FALSE STORY OF LOOKING LEE HARVEY OSWALD IN THE BATH-~~ to shoot at Nixon. ~~ROOM (SHE NOW CLAIMED TO HAVE KEPT HIM INSIDE FOR THREE HOURS BY~~

[1] NYT, February 12, 1964, p. 11.

[2] NYT, February 25, 1964, p. 39.

~~"HOLDING ON TO THE KNOB AND BRACING HER FEET AGAINST THE WALL" (23 H 511).~~

WITH ONLY THE LIMITED EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO THE WARREN COMMISSION, THIS STORY COULD EASILY HAVE BACKFIRED AGAINST THE WHOLE TESTIMONY OF MARINA, WHICH WAS TANTAMOUNT TO THE WHOLE "CASE" AGAINST HER HUSBAND. IT COULD ALSO HAVE DRAWN INVESTIGATION TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF HENRY BAER, OF MAURICE CARLSON, AND OF THEIR COLLEAGUES IN THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP. NETWORK. NIXON'S CORROBORATION OF THE BONA FIDES OF HIS "GOOD FRIEND" MAURICE CARLSON IS NOT ONLY SUSPICIOUS; IT MAY WELL, AS A SIGN OF THE POLITICAL WINDS, HAVE BEEN ONE INFLUENTIAL REASON WHY THIS FURTHER INVESTIGATION NEVER TOOK PLACE.

THE FBI REPORT OF NIXON'S TESTIMONY DOES NOT REVEAL (WHAT NIXON EARLIER TOLD A REPORTER IN DALLAS) THAT WHILE THERE HE "PLANNED TO TALK BY TELEPHONE TO SEVERAL DALLAS REPUBLICAN LEADERS" (22 H 942). LIKEWISE THE FBI INTERVIEW WITH MAURICE CARLSON FAILS TO NOTE THAT HE WAS A FORMER CHAIRMAN OF THE Dallas REPUBLICAN ~~PARTY~~ PARTY. MR. NIXON SHOULD THUS TELL US TODAY (WHAT HE APPARENTLY FAILED TO TELL THE FBI IN 1964) WHETHER HIS DALLAS VISIT INCLUDED TALKS WITH HIS "GOOD FRIEND" MAURICE CARLSON (WHO INITIATED THE FALSE INVITATION STORY) AND PETER O'DONNELL, WHO HELPED RETRACT IT. WE ALSO DESERVE TO LEARN IF HE HAD ANY CONTACTS WITH DALLAS REPUBLICAN JACK CRICHTON OF ARMY INTELLIGENCE, WHO SUPPLIED THE NAME OF MARINA'S INTERPRETER MAMANTOV AND ALSO BECAME THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR IN 1964. AND WE DESERVE TO LEARN IF HE HAD TALKS WITH

DALLAS REPUBLICAN FUND-RAISER ROBERT H. STEWART III OF THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP., THE FUTURE DIRECTOR OF PEPSICO AND L-T-V. FOR THE SUPERFICIAL EVIDENCE WE HAVE GATHERED IN THIS NARRATIVE SUGGESTS THAT DALLAS REPUBLICAN LEADERS CARLSON AND CRICHTON, AT LEAST, WERE INTIMATELY INVOLVED IN THE GREAT SOUTHWEST CORP. CONSPIRACY TO MANIPULATE MARINA'S TESTIMONY, AND THAT THEY, LIKE STEWART, MAY HAVE HAD A FINANCIAL INTEREST AS WELL.

The Dale Scott

DALLAS CONSPIRACY

INDEX

ABWEHR II 25
Academic Advisory Committee I 1
Accardo, Tony V 1
Adams, Francis E. VII 26,29
Adams Investment Co. V25
Adams, J.C. V25
Adonis, Joe V 6
Agnew, Spiro X 15
Ahern, Frank V15
Air America VI 14, VII 11, VIII 23
IX 7, X 12
Alaskan Airlines VI 14, X 12
Albert Schweitzer College II 8
Alleghany Corp. VII 22, 26
Allen, Bernard V 23
Allen, Charles III 37, VII 22
IX 24, X 8,9,14
Allen and Co. VII 22
Allen, George E. IX 12
Allen, Robt. S. II 31
Allman Pierce IV 26
Alsop, Joseph VIII 6
Alsop, Stewart VII 30, VIII 11
Amerasia Hearings II 21, III 10
American Bosch Arms X 9
American Civil Liberties Union II 1
III 1, IV 4
American Federation of Labor VIII 13
VI 20
American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Nations II 23,26,27,28
American Friends of the Mideast VII
VII 21
American Home Assurance VI 7
American Liberty Oil Co. III 43,
X 12, VI 14,
American Opinion I 1
American Mercury I 5, VII 6
American National Gas Co. VI 18,
VI 22
American News Co. VI 5
American Right I 4
American Security Council VI-6 [illegible]
II 25,26,27,28,29,30,
VIII 13,14
American Telephone and Telegraph
V 5
American University VIII 8
American Vigilante Intelligence Federation II 28
Anastasia, Albert VII, 24, 26
Anderson and Roberts IX 15
Anderson, Jack V 21, VI 3,6,14
VII 1,2,5,17
IX 12a, 22, 29
Anderson, Robt. Bernard III 40,41,42
VI 11, VII 19, IX 1[illegible]-13,15,17
IX 18-21,23,24,28,29, X 12,13
Anderson, M.D. Foundation IV 12
Andrews, Dean VII 14,15
Annenberg, Moe V 5 (VI-1)
Andaddy VI 2
Anslinger, Harry J. VII 9,10
Anti-Bolshevik Nations I 4, II 23,24,26,
II 27,29,30,31 III 12 VII 3,5,12
X 3,13
Anti Castro forces IV 1,8,18,19
Anti Communism League of the Caribbean
VII 12
Anti Komintern II 23,24,26
Ap Bac IX 7,8
Arlington Downs Race Track V 25
Arlington Texas III 38, V 25, X 13,14
Arlington Va. IV 15
Armenia II 23
Arrow Cross II 26
Artime, Manuel VIII 17
Arvey, Jake VI 7,15,16,29, V 4, VII 18,1[illegible]
Arvida Corp. VI 12
ARVN IX 3
Asia Society IX 6
Asian Peoples Anti-Communist League (APACL)
I 4, II 23,33, III 12,15,33, X 13
Assembly of Captive European Nations II 23
Atlantic Magazine IX 12a
Atlas Corp. VII 22, IX 14,15,25
Atsugi II 5,6,7,13
Atwood VI 21, VIII 19,20,21
Austin Anti-Communist Foundation III 16
Aviation Week And Space Technology III 4,IX1
Azerbaijan II 23
Baer, Francis X19
Baer, Henry III 34, IX 22, X 16,17,18,20
Baird-David, Josephine and Winfield Found.
VII 21,22,23
Baker, Bobby III 1,4,5,21,45, V 22,23,2[illegible],
VI 5,8,9,10,11,17,19,30, VII 5,21,
VII 22,23, VII 5,21,22,23, IX 21,22
IX 24,25, X 1,15
Baker, (Bobby's brother) VI 9
Baker, Dorothy VI 9
Baker, Robert "Barney" VI 16,28, X 19
Ball, Joseph A. V 15
Bandera, Steven II 29,30,31
Bank of America IX 25
Bank of Services And Trusts IX 23
Bank of The Southwest IV 12
Bank of World Commerce VI 30,31
[illegible] Lambert IX 25, X 13
[illegible] VI 14, X 12
[illegible] 14,27,32,
[illegible]

CURRICULUM VITAE

Peter Dale Scott
Associate Professor of English

Education:

B.A. (McGill University, Montreal), 1949. First Class Honors in Philosophy, Second Class Honors in Political Science.

Studied six months at Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris; and two years at University College, Oxford (1950-1952).

Ph.D. in Political Science (McGill), 1955. Dissertation on The Social and Political Ideas of T.S. Eliot.

Teaching:

1952-1953. Teacher at Sedbergh School, Montebello, Quebec (a private school with 42 students) Taught Grades I - XI English, French, Latin, German, History, Geography, and Piano.

Summer, 1955. Lecturer at University of Alberta Summer School. Course: History of Political Theory (Plato to present).

1955-1956. Lecturer, Department of Political Science, McGill University.

1961-1966. Speech Department, University of California at Berkeley: Lecturer, 1961; Acting Assistant Professor, 1962; Assistant Professor, 1963. English Department: Assistant Professor 1966, Associate Professor 1968.

Professional Service

Foreign Service Officer, Canadian Department of External Affairs, 1957-1961. Twelfth and Thirteenth Sessions, United Nations General Assembly, 1957 and 1958. U.N. Conference on Elimination or Reduction of Future Statelessness, Geneva, March-April, 1959. Third Secretary, Canadian Embassy in Warsaw, September, 1959. Second Secretary, July 1960. U.N. Conference on Diplomatic Intercourse and Immunities, Vienna, March-April, 1961.

Fellowship

Guggenheim Fellow, 1969.